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South Indian Society under Vijayanagar Rule

Noboru Karashima

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PREFACE

This volume is a continuation of my previous book, *South Indian History and Society* (1984), in the sense that I have pursued here problems of socio-economic development in South India for the period from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. The previous book focused mainly on the period from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, though it included some studies of the later period also.

Eight of the twelve chapters here were published or prepared after the publication of the previous book: six of them are the outcome of a two-year project on 'Socio-economic development in South India from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries' I organized in association with Professor Y. Subbarayalu of Tamil University, Dr P. Shanmugam of Madras University and others in 1984. The project was funded by the Mitsubishi Foundation, Tokyo, and the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi. Two chapters are the result of a research project on 'Urbanization of South Asia under Muslim and British rule' organized by Professor H. Yanagisawa of Tokyo University in 1988 and aided by a grant from the Ministry of Education, Japan. I am deeply grateful to the above institutions and Professor Yanagisawa.

The four remaining chapters were either published or written before the publication of the previous book, but three of them have been greatly revised and expanded for this publication. Two of the papers have been produced in collaboration with Professor Subbarayalu and Dr Shanmugam, who have been associated with me for more than fifteen years in the study of South Indian history. They helped me in reading inscriptions and also in preparing the maps included in this volume. It is my pleasant duty, therefore, to acknowledge their co-operation and help and also thank them for permitting me to include the result of our joint work in this volume.

In the course of my study of Vijayanagar inscriptions I was granted access to the unpublished inscriptions preserved in the office of the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, by Dr K. V. Ramesh, Director of Epigraphy, and Dr M. N. Katti, Chief Epigraphist, both of the Archaeological Survey of India. But for their generosity, I could not have completed or even attempted the studies

contained in this volume. Computers were used for printing this book which is full of terms with diacriticals, and Professors K. Machida and J. Takashima of the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies composed all the necessary programmes for the printing. The final maps were drawn by Professor K. Sugiura of Fukui University. I would like to express here my deepest thanks to all of them. Many of my friends gave me useful suggestions at various stages of my work and I would like to thank them all, particularly Professor Romila Thapar, Professor M. G. S. Narayanan, Dr Parvathi Menon and Dr Cynthia Talbot, who read some of my papers in manuscript form.

The system of transliteration followed here is the one traditionally used by historians and epigraphists of South Indian studies. The diacritical marks follow those of the *Tamil Lexicon*: for example *eṟchōṟu*, *paḻa-vari*, *nāṭṭu-viniyōgam*, *āḷ-amañji*. As the soft n and hard n̲ are interchangeably used in Tamil inscriptions, I have mostly employed n for n̲ also.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the editors and publishers of the journals and publications cited below for permission to publish the following in revised form.

Chapter 1: 'Nayaka Rule in North and South Arcot Districts in South India during the Sixteenth Century', *Acta Asiatica*, 48, The Toho Gakkai, Tokyo, 1985.

Chapter 2: 'Vijayanagar Rule and Nattavars in Vellar Valley in Tamilnadu during the 15th and 16th Centuries', *The Memoirs of the Institute of Oriental Culture*, No. 101, University of Tokyo, 1986.

Chapter 4: 'Two Independent Vijayanagar Governors in the Lower Kaveri Valley during the Latter Half of the Fifteenth Century' (in Japanese), in *Tohogaku Ronshu* (Eastern Studies Fortieth Anniversary Volume), The Toho Gakkai, Tokyo, 1987.

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Chapter 10: 'Development of Overseas Trade under Vijayanagar Rule', in H. Yanagisawa (ed.), *Muslimu Sihaiki – Eiryoki no*

Minami-Ajia Toshi to Shakaihendou (South Asian Cities and Social Changes under Muslim and British Rule), Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo, 1990.

Chapter 11 and Appendices: *Vijayanagar Rule in Tamil Country as Revealed Through A Statistical Study of Revenue Terms in Inscriptions* (co-authored by Y. Subbarayalu and P. Shanmugam), Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo, 1988.

Epigraphical Section, Bibliography: 'A Bibliography of South Indian Epigraphy', *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, No. 6, Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo, 1973.

GLOSSARY

adikāri (*adhikāri*) — Officer. Often worked as tax collector under the *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* or *mahāpradhāni*.

brahmadēyam — Villages granted to Brāhmaṇas. Same as *agrahāra* or *agaram*. Many of them were granted by the Chola kings.

iḍaitṭuṟai — Tax on herders. Same as *sādam*.

jōḍi (*sōḍi*) — 'Quit rent' on temples and other religious organizations. It often appears in inscriptions with *sūlavari*.

Kaikkōḷa — Weavers community.

kāṇi — Hereditary right on property, including land. Same as *kāṇiyāṭchi*. Cultivation rights are often expressed as *uḻavu-kāṇi*.

kāṇikkai — (Lit.) present. One of the most important taxes of the Vijayanagar period. There were several kinds, such as *kudirai-kāṇikkai* for the upkeep of horses, *nāṭṭu-kāṇikkai* for the expenses of the *nāḍu*.

Kaṇmāḷa — Artisan community consisting of blacksmiths, goldsmiths and carpenters, and occasionally braziers and masons.

karaṇikkam — Accountant. Office of the accountant.

kuḍi — Peasant, cultivator or tenant; often also merchant and artisan.

kuttagai — Lease or farming of some land or village.

mahāmaṇḍal-ēśvara — Governor of a *maṇḍalam* (large territory).

nāṭṭavar — (Lit.) the people of the *nāḍu*. Corporate body of leading landholders in a locality.

nāyaka — Military commander. Chief assigned a territory by the king.

nāyakkattanam — Territory assigned to *nāyaka*s for their management by the king. Same as Telugu *nāyaṅkara*.

paṇam — Money. One tenth of a *pon*.

paṭṭaḍai	Artisans' workshop, with which merchants were also associated.
paṭṭadai-nūlāyam	Tax on produce of the *paṭṭaḍai.*
paṟṟu	Small territorial division used for revenue purposes.
pēṭṭai	Market.
pradhāni (*piradāni*)	Minister. High ranking official. One who was still higher was designated *mahāpradhāni.*
pon	Gold coin equal to ten *paṇam.*
puṇṇiyam	Merit. The term was used mostly in relation to some charity to denote the merit to be expected from the charity.
rājyam	Large territorial unit, into which the Vijayanagar kingdom was divided. Also known as *uchāvaḍi* or *chāvaḍi.*
rāyasam	Writer who worked for the king or high officials as secretary.
rēkai (*irēkai*)	Revenue, usually denoting total amount of revenue of a village or territory.
sādam	Tax on herders. Same as *iḍaitturai,* but appearing mostly in Paḍaivīḍu-uchāvaḍi.
sīrmai (*sīmai*)	Territorial unit applicable to any extent of territory, meaning an estate.
sūlavari	Tax on temples. Related to or synonymous with *jōḍi.*
taṟi	Loom. *Taṟi-iṟai* is the tax on looms or weaving.
tirunāmattukkāṇi	Temple land.
uchāvaḍi (*chāvaḍi*)	Same as *rājya.* Also the main revenue office.
Vāṇiya	Merchant community.
Veḷḷāḷa	Leading agricultural community in Tamilnadu.

INTRODUCTION

Since my graduation thesis on Chola history was submitted to the University of Tokyo in 1958, more than thirty years ago I have been working on South Indian history, with Tamil inscriptions from the ninth to the seventeenth centuries as my basic source-material. The main objective of my study has been to clarify the historical development of South Indian society. My concern with the development of Indian society stems from my doubts about the theory of stagnancy of Asian society put forward by some western scholars.

In my *South Indian History and Society*,[1] a collection of thirteen papers, I discussed the socio-economic changes that could be identified during the Chola period. I argued that private landholdings were common at the last stage of Chola rule in contrast with the apparent prevalence of communal landholdings in the earlier stages. The emergence of big landholders towards the end of Chola rule was also pointed out. Though the main focus was on Chola society, one chapter related to a problem of the Vijayanagar period and in the introduction I suggested the emergence of a new social formation in the Tamil country during the Vijayanagar period.

Since then many Vijayanagar inscriptions have been studied for their evidence on the structure of the Vijayanagar empire and the socio-economic conditions of Tamilnadu under Vijayanagar rule. This has enabled me to see more clearly the emergence of a new political and economic setup during the Vijayanagar period, which is quite different from that prevailing during the Chola period.

This volume contains the revised version of twelve papers originally published or to be published elsewhere: Chapter 7 is the enlarged version of a chapter in my *South Indian History and Society*. Chapters 8 and 11 were produced in collaboration with Indian scholars. The essays fall into three sections: Part one, entitled 'The Emergence of a New Political Structure' contains five studies which discuss the structure of administration. The emergence of *nāyaka* rule towards the end of the fifteenth century is the focal point of the study, since past studies overlook the fact that *nāyaka* rule was established only in the latter half of the Vijayanagar period. Consequently, they failed to recognize the real significance of *nāyaka* rule as a new state ruling system different from the one prevailing previously in the first half.

Chapter 1 discusses *nāyaka* rule during the sixteenth century in

North and South Arcot Districts, analysing the activities of *nāyaka*s who were stationed in Paḍaivīdu and Gingee. The analysis clarifies that territories called *nāyakkattanam* were bestowed on the *nāyaka*s by the king to administer themselves. Sub-infeudation was also practised by the *nāyaka*s. In their territories, the *nāyaka*s tried to control production by encouraging artisans and merchants. For the same purpose they associated themselves with temples, which had grown into important economic institutions owning large tracts of land. The new groups of landholders composed of non-Brāhmaṇas were also incorporated into their regimes.

The next two chapters, Chapters 2 and 3, study the changes in Vijayanagar rule in the Tamil country, which occurred towards the end of the fifteenth century. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Tamil country was governed by important Vijayanagar officials such as ministers (*pradhāni*), governors (*mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*) and generals (*daṇḍanāyaka*), who governed vast regions for rather short periods as the state administrators. Maladministration by the *adikāri*s who worked under the officials as tax collectors contrasts with the *nāyaka*s' efforts to increase production in their territory by encouraging the people under them during the sixteenth century. Chapter 2 takes up the problem of *nāṭṭavar* in the context of this change in Vijayanagar rule. The institution of *nāṭṭavar*, as a corporate body of landholders, seems to have lost its vigour during the sixteenth century under *nāyaka* rule. Chapter 3, which examines inscriptions of the Srirangam temple, clarifies the changing character of Vijayanagar governors in the lower Kaveri valley. While the governors who ruled the region in the fifteenth century had the characteristics of senior state administrators, those in the sixteenth century showed some resemblance to the feudal lords of medieval western Europe or Japan.

Chapter 4 examines the rules of two *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*s of Chōḷamaṇḍalam who governed the region in the latter half of the fifteenth century. They seem to have tried to become independent of the Vijayanagar king, an attitude differing from that of earlier governors who were subservient to the king, and also from that of *nāyaka*s of the sixteenth century who showed their fidelity to the king, seeking his favour.

Chapter 5 examines the number of individual *nāyaka*s appearing in Chingleput District inscriptions. Of 124 *nāyaka*s, 118 belonged to the post-1475 period, which reinforces the conclusion mentioned

above, that the *nāyaka* system was established only towards the end of the fifteenth century. One-fourth of the 124 *nāyaka*s either served the king directly in the capital or held important positions in the central government. Others seem to have controlled local production in their own territory as the king's agents or in the territory of their overlords as their agents.

This section demonstrates that *nāyaka* rule was established at the end of the fifteenth century and that the system which greatly resembled the feudal regime of medieval western Europe and Japan, functioned for about 150 years.

Part Two, entitled 'Socio-economic Development under Vijayanagar Rule', contains five chapters which examine the socio-economic conditions in northern and central Tamilnadu during the Vijayanagar period. They focus on the conditions of the producers who rose in open revolt in 1429 against the Vijayanagar government and the landholders; and the encouragement given to artisans and merchants by *nāyaka*s during the sixteenth century. Chapter 6 discusses the loss of land and power by Brāhmaṇas who had flourished during the Chola period and the emergence during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of non-Brāhmaṇas as local magnates holding such titles as *arayan*, *uḍaiyān*, etc. It also discusses the condition of agriculture: local magnates seem to have employed *aḍimai*s (slaves) for cultivation of their estates, but slavery does not seem to have been a basic relation of production, and *kuḍi*s as occupant cultivators seem to have been the mainstay of cultivation during the Vijayanagar period.

Chapter 7 studies the leasing of temple land to *nāyaka*s and merchants, interpreting it as an apparatus through which they increased their economic power. In Chapter 8 the rise of the producers such as artisans and cultivators who organized themselves into Valaṅgai/Iḍaṅgai groups is examined. They rose in open revolt against the Vijayanagar government and Veḷḷāḷa and Brāhmaṇa landholders in 1429. The establishment of *nāyaka* rule at the end of the fifteenth century seems to have caused this type of social conflict to disappear from mention in the sixteenth-century inscriptions. Chapter 9 clarifies the growth of power of Kaikkōḷas (weavers) and Kaṇmāḷas (smiths) during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, examining the inscriptions which record the grant of set privileges to them by *nāyaka*s and their subordinate local magnates. Chapter 10 studies the development of overseas trade from the

evidence offered by inscriptions which reveal the activities of merchants in coastal towns and the consumption of imported articles by temples, and also by examining the Chinese ceramic sherds recently discovered in various places in South India.

Through the studies in this section, changes in or the reorganization of the agrarian order during the Vijayanagar period has been clarified. It occurred at the same time as changes in the political organization took place prior to the emergence of a new social formation.

Part Three, 'Vijayanagar Revenue Policy and Society', contains two chapters which concern the revenue policy of the Vijayanagar state. The statistical analyses made in Chapter 11 support the arguments of the preceding sections: namely, that the changed political organization and agrarian order referred to in the preceding sections is well reflected in the distribution pattern of revenue terms appearing in inscriptions, which shows a great difference in the revenue policy between the beginning and later part of Vijayanagar rule. The analyses also reveal many aspects of the socio-economic conditions of the time which have gone unnoticed or been overlooked in past studies. For example, economic development was more conspicuous in Paḍaivīḍu- and Vaḷudilampaṭṭu-uchāvaḍis (North and South Arcot Districts) than in other regions, including Chōḷamaṇḍalam which witnessed economic growth during the Chola period. To help the reader understand the discussion in this chapter, tables showing the chronological and regional distribution of revenue terms in inscriptions are contained in the Appendices, together with a concordance of revenue terms and a list of inscriptions examined.

Chapter 12 proposes a new interpretation of the term *paṇḍāravāḍai* which has been interpreted in past studies as 'crown land', distinguished from the territory (*nāyakkattanam*) assigned to *nāyaka*s. The new interpretation of it as 'taxable land' and the fact that it existed in *nāyakkattanam*s enable us to view the relations between *nāyaka*s and the king differently. The king seems to have had a detailed knowledge of the revenue *nāyaka*s were getting in their territories.

Since Robert Sewell's *A Forgotten Empire*[2] was first published in 1900, inviting people's attention to this important but 'forgotten' empire of Vijayanagar, many studies on it have appeared including those by H. Heras and B. A. Saletore. The presentation of basic sources other than inscriptions was also made by eminent scholars such as Krishnaswami Ayyangar, K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and N.

Venkataramanayya.[3] The most important contribution was made by N. Venkataramanayya through his study of the third dynasty of the empire.[4] The significance of his work lies in the fact that he analysed the problems by examining the actual texts of many inscriptions and literary works including local records. Because of this first-hand analysis, he was able to clarify the basic features of Vijayanagar rule and society. However, as Venkataramanayya examined mostly Telugu inscriptions and literature, his analysis applies largely to the Telugu area. After Venkataramanayya, T. V. Mahalingam made a more general study of the socio-economic conditions of the Vijayanagar empire,[5] but with a heavy dependence on secondary sources. Instead of the inscriptional texts themselves he utilized mostly the brief contents of inscriptions given in the *Annual Report on (South) Indian Epigraphy*, thus limiting his study. The same method was also adopted by A. Krishnaswami who studied the Tamil country under Vijayanagar.[6]

In this volume I have tried to examine actual inscriptional texts as far as possible by checking the transcripts of the unpublished inscriptions also.[7] My collaborators have done the same, and this examination of the original texts, combined with the statistical analysis of matters recorded in a large number of inscriptions, has enabled us to discover new facts so far unnoticed or to interpret matters differently.[8] In the present situation, where the texts of only a small part of the extant inscriptions have been published, it is not easy to examine many inscriptions. However, as I have stated elsewhere,[9] we cannot overemphasize the importance of reading the original texts of inscriptions in the study of Indian history. The merit of the statistical method, employed in the analysis of inscriptions in my *South Indian History and Society*, has been widely recognized.[10]

Of earlier studies, those by Burton Stein have recently aroused controversy, as he interpreted medieval South Indian states to be 'segmentary',[11] though there was some ambiguity, depending on whether he emphasized the continuous aspect or the changing aspect of the segmentary characteristics for the Vijayanagar period. Recently he seems to have become more inclined to emphasize the changing aspect, to see the Vijayanagar period as the transition to 'patrimonial' systems.[12] The interpretation of South Indian states as having patrimonial systems is more understandable and may apply even to the period prior to that of Vijayanagar.

Recent debate on the possible existence of feudalism in India

between R. S. Sharma and Harbans Mukhia has made the study of Indian feudalism lively again. T. J. Byres and Frank Perlin also joined the debate, trying to suggest guidelines for the application of the concept of feudalism to non-European societies.[13] However, as I have stated elsewhere, there is a gap between the arguments for Indian feudalism for the Gupta period by Sharma and his followers on the one hand and those by Nurul Hasan and P. B. Mayer for the Mughal and colonial periods on the other. This makes it difficult to view the development of social formation over the long period of Indian history.[14] There is also a big divide between North and South. What is required at present, therefore, is more empirical studies on medieval states in various regions of the Indian subcontinent. Until we accumulate many regional studies based on the examination of original sources, it will be extremely difficult to speak about Indian feudalism in general, even if we find some similarities between a particular situation of Indian society and the feudal society of medieval western Europe. That is one of the reasons why I am still rather hesitant to put forward more positively the interpretation of Vijayanagar society as feudal, though the studies made in this book reveal such similarities.

However, to give a stimulus to the study of South Indian history, I will briefly discuss here hypotheses on the historical development of South Indian society; one such hypothesis regards the social formation of South India, more particularly Tamilnadu, from the Pallava-Pandya period to the Chola period, as 'state slavery'.[15]

We may, quoting from Marx, explain state slavery as the mode of production of a society where the peasants submerged in the community were 'the slaves of that which embodies the unity of the community.'[16] Namely, peasants were slaves not in the sense that they were owned by others, but in that their dependence on the community they belonged to made them the slaves of the head of the community or of the king: hence, state slavery.

Although the 'general slavery' referred to by Marx in his *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations* has apparent similarities with the concept of state slavery employed here,[17] I have in fact borrowed the concept of 'state slavery' from the writings of Professor Satoru Nakamura of Kyoto University.[18] He developed it on the basis of the 'agricultural community' described by Marx in the third draft of his letter to Vera Zasulich,[19] and not on the basis of the 'Asian community' referred to in his *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations*.

Accordingly it is distinguished from the concept of 'general slavery' or the Asiatic Mode of Production, both based on the Asian community and often associated with the notion of a 'stagnant society'. On the contrary, the social formation which generates state slavery could change into another only if the communal bonds of the peasants were loosened. The emergence of peasants holding land and other means of production individually, independent of the community, is an indication of this change.

If we apply this concept to South Indian history, the middle Chola period, the heyday of Chola rule, seems to have attained the last stage of state slavery, in which the kings tried to control the peasants directly by breaking community ties in order to build a more powerful empire. To do so, they tried to establish an administrative system depending on the state or patrimonial servants. We can see such an attempt in their bestowing on local leaders of the Veḷḷāḷa community titles such as *uḍaiyān*, *arayan*, *āḷvān*, etc. in order to recruit them as state administrators. They utilized the Brāhmaṇa community for the same purpose.[20] However, this effort led to the creation of economically independent peasants. The kings granted land to Brāhmaṇas and also to these state servants, creating a system of private landholding; many transactions in landed property between individuals were recorded in later Chola inscriptions. The emergence of private landholdings broke up communal ties, and there arose an independent peasantry which was no longer a slave of the state. Even big landholders appeared towards the end of Chola rule.[21] The process was accelerated by the development of overseas trade during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This hypothetical explanation of the social changes which occurred towards the end of the Chola period, however, requires further theoretical elaboration on many points.

If we do not employ the concept of state slavery, the ancient South Indian state up to the beginning of Chola rule may be described as a 'clan-based' state in view of the importance of the clan in its social organization. This however, is an explanation too vague and general to be satisfactory.

There are some scholars who regard South Indian society of the same period as being 'feudal', on the evidence of the emergence of land grants to Brāhmaṇas and also of the *bhakti* ideology which presupposes social stratification.[22] However, if we consider the fact that relatively few villages were granted to Brāhmanas till the middle

Chola period, it is rather difficult to regard the relations of production seen in Brāhmaṇa villages as the basic relations of the time, and the *bhakti* ideology can be related to any stratified society, not necessarily to the feudal one.

The social formation after the Chola decline should be regarded as different from slavery, showing a transition towards feudalism, though we can recognize the development of patriarchic slavery to a certain extent in this transitional period.[23] Moreover, the political situation from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries did not allow feudal elements to emerge properly. The state administrators of the Pandyas and of the Vijayanagar kingdom played a more important role than local magnates. Therefore, only from the beginning of the sixteenth century, when *nāyaka* rule was established in the Tamil country, can we see more clearly the development of a feudal social formation, though state control over the *nāyaka*s seems to differentiate it to a certain extent from the feudalism of western Europe.

If we interpret the pre-Vijayanagar period from the time of Pallava-Pandyan rule as feudal, we have to distinguish two stages in feudal development in South India, as we have found great differences between the Chola and the Vijayanagar regimes. Whichever interpretation we follow, however, the concept of feudalism requires re-examination. If we consider the degree to which the state exercised direct control over the peasants as serfs from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries and the state's control over *nāyaka*s during the sixteenth century, it may be better to call the feudalism seen in South India 'state feudalism'.[24] The strength of state control over *nāyaka*s seems to have made 'Vijayanagar feudalism' rather similar to the Tokugawa feudalism of Japan. If we do not accept the 'feudal' interpretation, we have to find some other logical explanation for the difference between the Chola and Vijayanagar regimes.

The new political and economic conditions in the seventeenth century, namely military interference by European powers and the rapid economic expansion caused by the tremendous increase in overseas trade of products such as cotton cloth, sugar and aromatic plants, seem to have hindered the further development of South Indian society in this direction.

From the foregoing discussion, however, it is evident that we need to accumulate many more empirical studies and equally to re-examine existing theories, in order to be able to explain more satisfactorily socio-economic development in South India from the seventh to the

seventeenth centuries. Comparative studies of South Indian and North Indian states or Indian and Japanese societies are also needed. This volume attempts one such study.

NOTES

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5. T. V. Mahalingam, *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar*, Madras, 1940; and *Economic Life in the Vijayanagar Empire*, Madras, 1955 (Later revised and combined into one book in two parts under the title of the former. Part 1, Madras, 1969 and Part 2, Madras, 1975).
6. A. Krishnaswami, *The Tamil Country under Vijayanagar*, Annamalainagar, 1964.
7. For the period from the beginning of the 14th century to the middle of the 17th, and for the Tamil country alone, we have roughly 2,900 inscriptions including those in Tirumalai Tirupati. The texts of all the Tirumalai-Tirupati inscriptions, amounting to 1,064, have been published and translated into English. Excluding them, the texts of only a little more than 600 inscriptions have been published. The rest, namely more than 1,200 inscriptions remain unpublished. For this study, however, I was able to read many of these unpublished inscriptions by the kind permission of the Director of Epigraphy and the Chief Epigraphist, both of the Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore.
8. It is very strange that Ravi Arvind Palat should write that 'this erroneous assumption derives from the very restricted number of inscriptions from which Karashima drew his conclusion', while commenting on my emphasis on the creation of *nāyakkattanams* during the 16th century. Ravi Arvind Palat, 'Structure of Class Control in Late Medieval South Asia: Construction of an Interstate System (*circa* 1300–1600)', paper presented at the 39th Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Boston, April 1987, note 108. As I have stated above, my study method of inscriptions is always to check first all the extant inscriptions with the *Annual Report on (South) Indian Epigraphy*, then to read the texts of many important inscriptions, and finally to select some limited number of inscriptions most relevant to the particular study for a detailed examination. In the paper to which Palat

refers, I examined 34 inscriptions in detail, but those 34 inscriptions are selected for the study of *nāyaka* rule in North and South Arcot Districts during the sixteenth century. My emphasis on the *nāyakkattanam* made in that paper comes from the reading of a large number of Vijayanagar inscriptions.

9. Presidential Address to the 11th Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India, *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, vol. 12, 1985.
10. See the comments on the statistical method by K. V. Ramesh in N. Karashima (ed.), *Indus Valley to Mekong Delta: Explorations in Epigraphy*, Madras, 1985 (p. 29); and by James Heitzman in *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 24-1 (p. 38).
11. Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, New Delhi, 1980.
12. Burton Stein, 'Vijayanagar and the Transition to Patrimonial System', *Vijayanagar-City and Empire: New Currents of Research*, A. L. Dallapiccola and S. L. Lallemant (ed.), Wiesbaden.
13. Recent studies are included in T. J. Byres and Harbans Mukhia (ed.), *Feudalism and Non-European Societies*, London, 1985; and D. N. Jha (ed.), *Feudal Social Formation in Early India*, Delhi, 1987.
14. I have commented on this point in the introduction of *Acta Asiatica*, 48 (Japanese Studies in Later Medieval Indian Society), 1985. Two works by Hasan and Mayer are: Nurul Hasan, 'The position of the Zamindars in the Mughal Empire', *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, vol. 1, no. 4 (1964); and P. B. Mayer, 'South India, North India: The Capitalist Transformation of Two Provincial Districts', H. Alavi *et al.*, *Capitalism and Colonial Production*, London and Canberra, 1982.
15. The concept and terminology of 'state slavery' have been put forward by some Japanese scholars in their attempts to interpret the ancient Japanese social formation, though there are differences among them over the understanding of the writings of Marx, on which they based the idea.
16. E. J. Hobsbawm, *Karl Marx, Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations*, London, 1964, p. 92.
17. The concept of 'general slavery' is ambiguous and generates controversy, as Marx did not define it well.
18. Satoru Nakamura, *Doreisei-Nodosei no Riron* (Theories on Slavery and Serfdom), Tokyo, 1977.
19. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, vol. 24, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1989, pp. 364–9.
20. I have explained this point in my previous book. See *South Indian History and Society*, Chapter 2.
21. I have clarified this point in my previous book. See *South Indian History and Society*, Chapter 1.
22. For example, see M. G. S. Narayanan and Kesavan Veluthat, 'The Bhakti Movement in South India', in D. N. Jha (ed.), *Feudal Social Formation in Early India*, New Delhi, 1987.

23. Many Japanese scholars detect the development of patriarchic slavery in Japan during the transitional period from ancient to medieval times. See Keiji Nagahara, *Nihon Keizaishi* (Economic History of Japan), Tokyo, 1980, Chapters 3 and 4.

24. S. Nakamura, who put forward the concept of 'state slavery', also proposes the concept of 'state serfdom', applicable to a stage of feudal development of a certain society in consideration of the strong control over peasants in the early medieval period of Japan. Nakamura, *Doreisei-Nodosei*.

I

EMERGENCE OF A NEW POLITICAL STRUCTURE

CHAPTER 1

NĀYAKA RULE IN NORTH AND SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICTS

Discussion on Indian feudalism has recently become very lively. We can refer, for example, to the debate between R. S. Sharma and Harbans Mukhia concerning whether or not serfdom existed in early medieval Indian society.[1] In so far as the Mughal period is concerned, the arguments on *zamindar*s put forward by Nurul Hasan and Irfan Habib in the 1960s still hold good.[2] Dealing chiefly with the colonial period, Hamza Alavi and P. B. Mayer have discussed the problem of the existence/non-existence of feudalism in India during the pre-colonial period.[3] However, except for Mayer's work, which takes up Tiruchirapalli District for a comparative case study, all the discussions on Indian feudalism mentioned above concern only North India. Mayer's arguments on pre-nineteenth century society appear incomplete, while D. N. Jha and R. N. Nandi, who have dealt with feudalism in Tamilnadu and Karnataka respectively, do not discuss the period after the fourteenth century.[4] In his recent studies, Burton Stein disagrees with the interpretation of Vijayanagar society as feudal mainly on the basis of the negative evidence offered by N. Venkataramanayya.[5] This chapter, therefore, intends to consider the problem of feudalism in South India during the late medieval period by analysing contemporary Vijayanagar inscriptions.[6]

More specifically, this study will focus on *nāyaka* rule in the region of the present districts of Tamilnadu, North Arcot and South Arcot, during the sixteenth century (Map 1). The reason for such a focus comes from the inadequacy of past studies, many of which are too general in covering vast areas of South India over a period extending more than three centuries.[7] This drawback in their approach is seen also in their selection of topics, which cover many aspects of history encyclopaedically. From these 'descriptive' studies we can learn many things but not what we really want to know.

My main concern here is the mechanism by which the *nāyaka*s of Vijayanagar times developed their power, or the logic which allows us to recognize them as feudal lords, if such they were. Almost all works dealing with Vijayanagar history speak about the *nāyaka*s, *nāyaṅkara*-system, etc., basing their arguments mainly on accounts given by foreign travellers such as Fernão Nuniz and Domingo Paes,

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but we hardly come across any works which can answer the question of how it was possible for them to increase their strength and finally establish themselves as a dynastic power in some areas during the seventeenth century. The only explanation we get seems to be the defeat of the Vijayanagar king in Rakshasi-Tangadi in A.D. 1565. Our task is, therefore, to seek more convincing answers to the question.

The establishment of the Vijayanagar kingdom takes us back to the first half of the fourteenth century, but its rule extended to Tamilnadu only towards the end of the fourteenth century, after Kumāra Kampaṇa's campaigns in Kanchipuram and Madurai. The Chola rule in Tamilnadu ended in the latter half of the thirteenth century, and the period roughly extending from A.D. 1250 to 1400 brought considerable hardship to the people. They experienced the effects of war among and rule by various dynasties such as the Pandyas, the Hoysalas and the Kakatiyas, and also the invading armies of the Delhi Sultanate from the north and the intrusion of Vijayanagar warriors into Tamilnadu.

Conditions in the fifteenth century proved to be no less harsh and exploitative as is evidenced by the heavy and arbitrary burden of taxes imposed by the invading warriors. We have plenty of inscriptions which record the 'running away' of cultivators and artisans during this period. The Orissan invasion of Tamilnadu also took place in the fifteenth century, and an officer named Annamarasar had to be sent by the Vijayanagar king to save the people from the distressed conditions caused by the invasion.[8]

There was yet another factor which led to additional burdens during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: the class struggle which assumed a new dimension in the thirteenth century. The confrontation was between two agrarian classes, landholders on the one hand, and tenants or landless cultivators on the other, landlord villages becoming conspicuous after A.D. 1250 and creating different class relations within the agrarian order.[9] The poorer peasants, along with artisans and merchants, suffered under the oppression of the well-to-do peasants who became landlords. This confrontation was made even more acute by the extortionate demands of the Vijayanagar invaders during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This is attested to by the open revolt of the Valaṅgai/Iḍaṅgai people against the landlords (*kāṇiyāḷar*) and Vijayanagar officers (*irājagarattār*) during the first half of the fifteenth century in the South Arcot, Tiruchirapalli and Thanjavur

Districts.[10] It seems, however, that the growth of the *nāyaka*s in the latter half of the fifteenth century had a stabilizing effect on society, as we shall see later, hence our emphasis here on *nāyaka* rule in the sixteenth century.

For the three northern districts of Tamilnadu, Chingleput, North Arcot and South Arcot, we have a good number of Vijayanagar inscriptions, and a smaller number for the middle and southern districts.[11] The sixteenth-century inscriptions of these northern districts contain the names of various *nāyaka*s, many of them appearing only once or twice, but others rather frequently. In the latter case, it is often possible to determine their relations as well. I have selected for my analysis several such *nāyaka*s.

In North Arcot, Paḍaivīḍu was the centre of the Vijayanagar *nāyaka*s who came from Karnataka,[12] and in South Arcot, Gingee is supposed to have been a centre for the *nāyaka*s who later came to be known as Gingee Nāyakas,[13] although the *uchāvaḍi* or administrative centre for the South Arcot region was located in Vaḻudilampaṭṭu in Cuddalore Taluk.[14] In the following, we shall examine thirty-four inscriptions of these Paḍaivīḍu and Gingee *nāyaka*s. Inscriptions 1 – 10 concern Tirumalai Nāyaka of Paḍaivīḍu, ins. 11, Kāḷattīsura Nāyaka of the same place.[15] The rest concern the *nāyaka*s of Gingee: ins. 12 – 14 for Vaiyappa Nāyaka, ins. 15 – 21 for Sūrappa Nāyaka, ins. 22 for Krishṇappa Nāyaka, ins. 23 – 32 for Koṇḍama Nāyaka, and ins. 33 and 34 for Muttu Krishṇappa Nāyaka. Though there are some additional inscriptions for these *nāyaka*s, I have selected these thirty-four to present the problems which I want to analyse. I have also examined other inscriptions which concern other *nāyaka*s in order to elucidate my analysis whenever necessary.

The summary of the inscriptions given below show my own interpretation of their contents and differ in many points from those given by the epigraphists in the *Annual Report on (South) Indian Epigraphy* or the introduction in other epigraphical publications.

Another point to note is the historical background and the ecological set-up of those two districts. During the Chola period, this region formed a part of Jayaṅgoṇḍachōḻa-maṇḍalam (Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam), one of the two important divisions of the Chola country. After the decline of the Cholas in the thirteenth century, local chiefs whose family name was Sambuvarāya gained power in North Arcot District with their centre in the region around Paḍaivīḍu.[16] This family was defeated by the army of Kumāra

Map 1 North and South Arcot districts during the sixteenth century

Kampaṇa in the latter half of the fourteenth century, and the reason for Kannaḍiga *nāyaka*'s stationing at Paḍaivīḍu can also be explained by this political event.

The history of the Gingee *nāyaka*s is better known, as we have some information on their genealogy in the form of inscriptions and a later legend recorded by Colin Mackenzie.[17] It is believed by scholars that they came from Vijayanagar at the behest of Krishṇadēvarāya in order to subdue the rebellious chieftains of the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam, though we do not know who those rebellious chieftains actually were. While there is some confusion among scholars as to their genealogy and the succession of *nāyaka*-ship in Gingee,[18] we can say that their rule started towards the end of the fifteenth century in some localities in South Arcot District.

The great part of North Arcot and the western half of South Arcot are quite hilly and the ecology of the areas differs from that of the eastern half of South Arcot. Even in the plains of eastern South Arcot, the soil is rather dry and agriculture seems to have depended on tank irrigation, as there are only two small rivers, the Pennai and Vellar, flowing in southern South Arcot. However, the Vellar valley was used as a route connecting the South Arcot region to Kerala through the Attur and the Palghat passes. There seems to have existed a settled shepherd population in North Arcot, where the soil is generally dry.

Examination of Inscriptions

1. *AR* 1939-243, Puduppāḷaiyam (Chengam Taluk) NA, Ś. 1416/ A.D. 1494.
By the oral order of the king (Immaḍi Timmadēva), Tirumalai Nāyaka donated to the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai temple the *paṭṭaḍai nūlāyam* which had been paid to the Paḍaivīḍu government by Kaikkōḷas, Seṭṭis, Vāṇiyas, Sekku-vāṇiyas, Kōliyas and other communities living in Adiruṅkaḷaṟ-perumāḷnallūr, a village in Murugamaṅgala-paṟṟu. The donation was made for the sacred offerings to the deity for the merit (*danmam*) of Narasā Nāyaka.

2. *AR* 1941-61, Paḍaivīḍu (Polur) NA, Ś. 1416/ A.D. 1495.
A charity deed issued by *sādam* collectors working for Īśura Nāyaka in Paḍaivīḍu-rājyam. Praying for the extension of the empire of Immaḍi Narasiṅga (the king), the collectors assigned to the temple of Marudarasa-Paḍaivīḍu two Maṉṟāḍis who lived in the village

(Mukkambai) and who had been paying their *sādam* to the Paḍaivīḍu palace (*kottu*). The assignment was made as the charity (*danmam*) of Tirumalai Nāyaka and Īśura Nāyaka for the purpose of burning lamps in the temple. It is stipulated that the two shepherds should yearly pay 24 *paṇam* to the temple treasury and be exempted from the levy of *sammādam* and *kāṇikkai.*

3. *AR* 1912-355, Dēvikāpuram (Arni) NA, Ś. 1422/ A.D. 1500.
Īśura Nāyaka and Tirumalai Nāyaka assigned a plot of *nañjey* land (500 *kuḻi*) in a village (*tirunāmattil-kāṇi*) of the Dēvikāpuram temple, a house in Dēvikāpuram and a *prasādam* in the temple to the two sacred hymn singers of the temple. Īśura Nāyaka is recorded as an agent (*kāriyattu-kaḍavar*) of the king (Narasā-Nāyaka). The assignment was made for the merit (*danma*) of *svāmi* Narasā Nāyaka. Īśura Nāyaka and Tirumalai Nāyaka are sons of Etappa Nāyaka.

4. *AR* 1912-395, Dēvikāpuram (Arni) NA, Ś. 1426/ A.D. 1504.
Tirumalai Nāyaka who was an agent (*kāriyattuku-kaḍavar*) of Narasā Nāyaka donated a plot of *nañjey* land (1,200 *kuḻi*) in a village (*tirunāmattu-kāṇi*) of the Dēvikāpuram temple, a certain amount of rice and money, and two houses in Dēvikāpuram, to a priest of the Paḍaivīḍu temple. Two taxes, *āḻ-amañji* and *nīr-kūli*, were exempted, and the priest was bound to perform *pūjā* to the deities in the Dēvikāpuram temple. A similar donation made earlier to the priest by the father of Tirumalai Nāyaka is also mentioned.

5. *AR* 1912-372, Dēvikāpuram (Arni) NA, Ś. 1431/ A.D. 1510.
Tirumalai Nāyaka and authorities of the Dēvikāpuram temple consisting of *gurukkaḷ*, *tānattār*, *māhēśvarar* and Kaikkōḷa-mudaligaḷ, assigned a piece of land to a certain individual as his *kāṇi* for temple repairs and other expenses. The transfer was made for the merit (*danmam*) of the king. The individual was allowed to raise any crops on that land and also to receive monthly 4 *kalam* of paddy from the temple treasury.

6. *AR* 1906-240 (*SII*, XXII, 24), Tiruppanaṅgāḍu (Cheyyar) NA, Ś. 1432/ A.D. 1510.
Tirumalai Nāyaka donated to the temple of Tiruppanaiṅgāḍu as his own gift (*ubaiyam*), the *paṭṭaḍai-nūlāyam* payable by the Kaikkōḷas in Tiruppanaiṅgāḍu and by the Viyāpāris in a *dēvadāna* village, Vanpākkam. Both villages included in Brāhmadēsa-paṟṟu are found in the present Cheyyar Taluk. The donation was made towards the expenses of certain festivals in the temple.

7. *AR* 1941-92, Āttuvāmpāḍi (Polur) NA, Ś. 1434/ A.D. 1513.
A village lease deed given by the *tānattār* and other authorities of the Āṟṟuvāmpāḍi temple. They transferred the *kāṇi* right of Malaiyampaṭṭu, a *dēvadāna* village of which they held the *kāṇiyāṭchi*, to Tirumalai Nāyaka for the price of 500 *paṇam*, and he is bound to pay annually 20 *paṇam* of money and 40 *kalam* of paddy to the temple as *maṇaiyāṉ-kaṭṭu-kuttagai*. He was allowed to bring any cultivators (*kuḍi*) into the village. It is stated that he need not pay any more than the stipulated amount of tax.

8. *AR* 1912-358, Dēvikāpuram (Arni) NA, Ś. 1441/ A.D. 1518.
Harihara Nāyaka, son of Mallapa Nāyaka of Marudarasar Paḍaivīḍu, assigned a certain number of shepherds (Manṟāḍi *kuḍi*) who live in Gaṅgaiyankuppam paying *iḍaitturai* to Paḍaivīḍu which is his own *sīrmai*. The shepherds had to pay annually 33 1/2 *paṇam* as a whole to the treasury of the Dēvikāpuram temple. This assignment was made for the merit (*puṇṇiyam*) of the king and Tirumalai Nāyaka.

9. *AR* 1912-352, Dēvikāpuram (Arni) NA, Ś. 1442/ A.D. 1519.
The authorities of the Dēvikāpuram temple including a *maṭādipati* transferred to Tirumalai Nāyaka the *kāṇi* right to three plots of land in two villages of the temple and a house in Dēvikāpuram. This inscription stipulates that Tirumalai Nāyaka can bring in cultivators (*kuḍi*) and have them raise any crops he likes on the land which includes both *nañjey* and *puñjey*. Tirumalai Nāyaka received the above as *maṇaiyāṉ-kaṭṭu-kuttagai* and was bound to pay annually to the temple 50 *paṇam* of money and 50 *kalam* of paddy for the tax items enumerated, the number of which exceeds 25. No mention is given of the price of this transfer or of its purpose. The *kāṇi* right is specified as *kuḍi-iruppu kāṇiyāṭchi*.

10. *AR* 1943-104, Santavāsal (Polur) NA, Ś. 1448/ A.D. 1527.
A record of the sale of a piece of land newly reclaimed by *ūravar* of Sēnaikkumīṇḍān-vāsal in Rājagembīran-malaikkaḍaitta-paṟṟu which was a part of Murugamaṅgala paṟṟu. A certain Chellapan purchased it for 300 *paṇam* to pay for the expense of burning a lamp in the temple of Tirupati for the merit (*danmam*) of *svāmi* Tirumalai Nāyaka, Namassivāya Nāyaka and Mallappa Nāyaka. While the purchaser was allowed to enjoy the land as his *kāṇi*, he was bound to pay annually 10 *paṇam* for the lamp and 5 *paṇam* to a *maṭha*. The *ūravar* is headed by a certain Gavuṇḍan.

11. *AR* 1912-356, Dēvikāpuram (Arni) NA, Ś. 1455/ A.D. 1533.

A record of granting the privilege of managing temple affairs as secretary, supervisor and chief executive officer to Kāḷattīsura Nāyaka, son of Tirumalai Nāyaka of Marudarasar Paḍaivīḍu. For this privilege, Kāḷattīsura Nāyaka received as *māniyam* (tax free) all *nañjey* and *puñjey* land in the village (Murugamaṅgalam) and 1,000 *kuḻi* of *nañjey* land in another village (Kailāyam). He also received 10 *paṇam* of money and 10 *kalam* of paddy per mensem for employing an accountant under him.

12. *AR* 1906-27 (*SII.* XXII, 127), Jambai (Tirukkoyilur) SA, ś. 1452/ A.D. 1532.

A record of the tax remission by the king (Achyutadēva) for the expenses of *pūjā* and repairs in the Jambai temple. A petition was presented by Vaiyappa Nāyaka to the king, who agreed to remit *jōḍi* and *sūlavari* levied on the *dēvadāna* villages of the Jambai temple, since 24 other *dēvadāna* villages (of various temples) along the river Pennai had already been exempted from those taxes. The order was executed by Bommu Nāyaka of Vēlūr.

13. *AR* 1938-449, Paḷḷichchandal (Tirukkoyilur) SA, ś. 1452/ A.D. 1532.

An arrangement similar to that of ins. 12 was made for the *dēvadāna* land of the Paḷḷichchanda (Jain?) temple of Jambai by Vaiyappa Nāyaka.

14. *AR* 1934-31, Valaiyattūr (Walajapet) NA, ś. 1461/ A.D. 1540.

A certain Pappu Seṭṭi through the good offices of Vaiyappa Nāyaka requested that the king (Achyutadēva) donate the two northern hamlets of Vaḷanāṟṟūr to the Vaḷanāṟṟūr temple. His request was granted. For this act, Pappu Seṭṭi was given by the temple authorities the *kāṇi* to these two hamlets. It is stipulated that he is allowed to bring in cultivators (*kuḍi*) and have them raise any crops he likes on the *nañjey* and *puñjey* land of the villages, but the last portion of the inscription after the enumeration of certain taxes is indecipherable due to the stone being damaged.

15. *AR* 1919-1, Sembēḍu (Gingee) SA, ś. 1469/ A.D. 1547.

Sūrappa Nāyaka and his brother Vaiyappa Nāyaka granted a village, Vadamēlaiyāna Siṟṟamūr, to the Vīramīkāmanallūr temple to institute a daily *pūjā*. The village, including tanks, *nañjey* and *puñjey*, was located in Peruṅkāñchi-sīrmai which is recorded as the *nāyakkattanam* of the grantors. No mention is made of the tax. The brothers' father is Pottu Nāyaka.

16. *AR* 1904-240 (*SII*, XVII, 263), Gingee (Gingee) SA, ś. 1472/ A.D. 1550.

A record of the grants made by the king (Sadāsivadēva), Sūrappa Nāyaka and *aḍaippam* Mallappa Nāyaka, to the Señji temple for *pūjā*, repairs and festivals. The king remitted in favour of the temple the *pala-paṭṭaḍai* (*-nūlāyam*) and *sittāyam* taxes levied on a certain village belonging to the temple (*tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam*) and *āyam* accruing from the Friday fair in Señji, and granted villages in Peruṅkāñchi-, Señji-, Vīravanallūr-, Tiruvaḍi-, Dēvanūr- and Muḍiyarai-sīrmais as *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam*. For the merit (*puṇṇiyam*) of the king, Sūrappa Nāyaka donated two villages in Vīravanallūr- and Kayappākkattil-sīrmais, which he had purchased from Brāhmaṇas, and Mallappa-Nāyaka donated two villages in Kuṉṟattūr-sīrmai as *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam*.

17. *AR* 1921-312 (*SITI* -68), Tirukkoyilur (Tirukkoyilur) SA, ś. 1474/ A.D. 1552.

A record of the revenue settlement of the villages granted to the Tirukkōvalūr temple. The temple land (*tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam*), consisting of eighteen *ēndal* and nine *uḷkiḍai*, some of which were reclaimed and made free from *jōḍi* by a man of high religious order (Emperumāḷ Jīyar), is stated to have been confirmed as tax free (*sarva-māniyam*) temple land by Sūrappa Nāyaka and handed over to the temple as *poliyūṭṭu* (fixed rent) for the expenses of daily worship and festivals. The temple was to receive 2,572 *pon* (from the *ūravar*) since the practice in this locality was for the temple and the *ūravar* to divide the income equally between them. The *jīyar* was given the right to one-fourth share of the *prasādam*.

18. *AR* 1938-465, Maṇalūrpet (Tirukkoyilur) SA, ś. 1474/ A.D. 1552.

Sūrappa Nāyaka granted to the Maṇalūr temple two villages(?) in Magada-maṇḍalam *alias* Irākuttanallūr-sīrmai which was given to him by the king (Sadāsivadēva) as *nāyakkattanam*. The grant was made for the offerings and services in the temple for the merit (*puṇṇiyam*) of his father, Pottappi Nāyaka.

19. *AR* 1938-470, Maṇalūrpet (Tirukkoyilur) SA, ś. 1482/ A.D. 1560.

Having established a new settlement (*pāḷaiyam*) which is referred to as a market (*pēṭṭai*) in the latter portion, Kanakappa Nāyaka donated it to the Maṇalūr temple for the merit (*puṇṇiyam*) of Sūrappa Nāyaka. All people (*kuḍi*) brought into the settlement are exempted from taxes for the first three years.

20. *AR* 1918-106, Kūgaiyūr (Kallakurichi) SA, ś. 1483/ A.D. 1562.

A record of the revenue grant made by an agent (*kāriyattukku-kaṟtarāna*) of Sūrappa Nāyaka and the *nāṭṭavar* of Tenkarai-sīrmai. They donated the protection fee (*talaiyārikkam*) of the market (*pēṭṭai*) of Kūgaiyūr to the Kūgaiyūr temple for the worship of the Goddesses.

21. *AR* 1922-41, Tiruvāmāttūr (Villupuram) SA, Sadāsivadēva (A.D. 1567).

A record of an agreement given by the local Ilai-vāṇiyar (betel-leaf sellers) to Kaikkōḷas of Tiruvaḍi-rājyam which was ruled by Sūrappa Nāyaka as an agent (*kāriyattukku kaṟtarāna*) of the king. The former community had mutilated the stone record which had been set up by the latter (and which described the privileges?), and for this the Ilai-vāṇiyars were fined and deprived of their titles and privileges. In this new agreement they swore (to the *nāyaka*) that they would not claim their lost titles.

22. *AR* 1922-65, Tiruvāmāttūr (Villupuram) SA, Srīraṅgadēva (A.D. 1572).

An agreement of the *nāṭṭavar*s and *mahājana*s of Vaḍakaḍainda-paṟṟu given to the king, his agent (*kāriyattukku-kaṟtarāna*) Krishṇappa Nāyaka, Krishṇappa's secretary (*rāyasam*) Tirumalaiyan, and their future successors. The three groups of Kaṇmāḷas, namely Kollan (blacksmith), Tachchan (carpenter) and Taṭṭān (goldsmith), had been put to great suffering from the imposition of taxes called *pāvāḍai*, *parivaṭṭam* and *muganṭuḍai* by the previous *nāṭṭavar*s and *mahājana*s. Since the same group of Kaṇmāḷas living in the *sīrmai*s of Paḍaivīḍu, Señji, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and Kāñchīpuram were exempted from those taxes, the *nāṭṭavar*s and *mahājana*s of Vaḍakkaḍainda-paṟṟu decided to grant the same privilege to the Kaṇmāḷas of their locality.

23. *AR* 1913-348, Chidambaram (Chidambaram) SA, Ś. 1503/ A.D. 1582.

Koṇḍama Nāyaka remitted the commission on the pepper trade (*miḷagu-taragu*) which had been collected in seven villages in some six *paṟṟu*s (Keṅkoṇḍān, Arasūrpaṟṟukīl, Teṉkaraikōḷiyūr, Kāvaṇūr, Aḷisukkāṭṭil and Eṟumbūr *paṟṟu*s) of Buvaṉēkavīran-paṭṭaṇam-sīrmai, and donated it to the Perumpaṟṟappuliyūr temple for use in sacred offerings and festivals. The donation was made for his own merit (*puṇṇiyam*).

24. *AR* 1916-263, Śrīmushṇam (Chidambaram) SA, Ś. 1505/ A.D. 1583.

Koṇḍama Nāyaka and the *nāṭṭavar*s of two localities (Paṭṭana-sīrmai and ...ettu-paṟṟu) granted two villages in Ālampāḍi-paṟṟu in the former locality (?) to Veṅkaṭarayyan, a secretary (*rāyasam*) who worked for Koṇḍama Nāyaka, and Veṅkaṭarayyan donated them to the Śrīmushṇam temple for sacred offerings and other purposes.

25. *AR* 1916-266 (*SII*, XVI, 294), Śrīmushṇam (Chidambaram) SA, Ś. 1505/ A.D. 1584, Telugu.

Having been requested by Achyutappa Nāyaka, Koṇḍama Nāyaka remitted *jōḍi* and *virāḍa* taxes which had been collected from thirty-eight villages in Bhuvanagiri-sīrmai, which is stated as his *nāyaṅkara*, for the benefit of the Śrīmushṇam temple. Achyutappa improved the water facilities in those villages by digging tanks and water channels and also built a *gōpuram* and other temple structures, and now is admitted by Koṇḍama Nāyaka to have the right to a one-fourth share of *prasādam* in the temple.

26. *AR* 1916-270 (*SII*, XVI, 295), Śrīmushṇam (Chidambaram) SA, Ś. 1505/ A.D. 1584, Telugu.

This inscription which dates three days after the previous one (ins. 25) is related to it in content. Besides having had the thirty-eight villages of the Śrīmushṇam temple exempted from taxes by Koṇḍama Nāyaka, Achyutappa Nāyaka created six new villages by reclaiming land in some seven villages in his own *nāyaṅkara*, and purchased two villages from Brāhmaṇas, all of which he donated to the temple as tax-free temple villages. As stated in ins. 25, he constructed many buildings for the temple and donated ornaments to the deity. For these acts, he was given by the temple authorities a share in its administration (*sthāna-nirvāham*), the watchmanship (*talārikkam*) of those temple villages, and made the guardian of the temple treasury (*tirmēni-kāval*). The right given to him is described as *kāṇiyāṭchi*.

27. *SITI* 994, Veṇmaṇi (?) SA, Srīraṅgadēva (A.D. 1584).

Koṇḍama Nāyaka, *nāṭṭavars* of the ...paṟṟus and a local officer (Arasu-nilaiyiṭṭa Krishṇappa Maḷavarāya Nāyinār) donated to the Veṇmaṇi temple, as charity (*darmam*), a village which seems to have been a hamlet of Veṇmaṇi, exempting it from all taxes (*sarva-māniyam*). Koṇḍama Nāyaka is recorded as an agent (*kāriyattukku-kaṟtarāna*) of the king (Srīraṅgadēva).

28. *AR* 1913-334, Chidambaram (Chidambaram) SA, Ś. 1507/ A.D. 1585.

Koṇḍama Nāyaka, son of Krishṇappa Nāyaka and grandson of

Vaiyappa Nāyaka, granted four villages in three localities (Aḷisukāṭṭu-paṟṟu, Arasūrkīḻ-paṟṟu and Aṇḍakaḷūr-paṟṟu) to the temple of Perumpaṟṟappuliyūr to contribute to the expenses for sacred services and festivals. The grant was made for his own merit (*puṇṇiyam*).

29. *AR* 1913-335, Chidambaram (Chidambaram) SA, ś. 1510/ A.D. 1588.

Koṇḍama Nāyaka exempted the Chidambaram temple from paying 300 *pon* for *koṟṟu-ilakkai* to the government (*irājagaram*). This remission was made to feed a certain number of mendicants in the temple.

30. *AR* 1913-339, Chidambaram (Chidambaram) SA, ś. 1510/ A.D. 1589.

Koṇḍama Nāyaka donated 50,000 *kalam* of *tāniyam* (paddy?) accruing from Vīranārāyaṇa-sīrmai to the Chidambaram temple to feed a certain number of mendicants who came to the temple as pilgrims. This donation was made in addition to the tax remission mentioned in the previous inscription (ins. 29).

31. *AR* 1913-369, Chidambaram (Chidambaram) SA, ś. 1515/ A.D. 1593.

Koṇḍama Nāyaka remitted the tax (*lakkam*) which had been collected from all the old villages of the Chidambaram temple. The six villages, the names of which are listed, are in Vīranārāyaṇa-sīrmai which is recorded as Dēva-maṇḍala-sīrmai. This act of charity (*dharma*) by Koṇḍama Nāyaka was made to cover the offering made to the deity and to feed temple servants and other people.

32. *AR* 1913-360, Chidambaram (Chidambaram) SA, ś. 1517/ A.D. 1596.

A certain Piḷḷai set up a market (*pēṭṭai*) on six *mā* of land in a certain village. He was to use the income accruing from the market, which was to be settled with *kuḍi*s who were exempted from taxes(?), for conducting a *pūra* festival. This act of charity (*ubaiyam*) was made for the merit (*puṇṇiyam*) of Koṇḍama Nāyaka.

33. *AR* 1935-A11 (CP), Cuddalore (Cuddalore) SA, ś. 1518/ A.D. 1597.

A record of the decision made by the *mudalis* of 56 *dēsa*s, Ñānapirakāsa Paṇḍāram (a man of high religious order?) and the *mudalis* of Iḷavaṉāsūr 12 paṟṟu in Paṭṭaṇa-sīrmai in the presence

of Muttu Krishṇappa Nāyaka. They decided to grant the title of Yādavarāya and the right to use a palanquin to a certain Kaṇḍiyadēvar of Viruttāchalamperunāḍu. For this privilege, he seems to have been given a certain stipulated income from weavers, merchants, leather workers and others of the locality (Iḷavaṉāsūr 12 paṟṟu?).

34. *AR* 1913-352, Chidambaram (Chidambaram) SA, ś. 1520/ A.D. 1598.

The inscription is much damaged and seems to record the construction of a *gōpuram* and the establishment of a new street in Chidambaram by Muttu Krishṇappa Nāyaka, son of Koṇḍama Nāyaka. The income (*nidi*, etc.) from the people (*kuḍi*) settled in the street seems to have been assigned to the Chidambaram temple towards repairs and other purposes. The following interesting reassurance offered by the donor appears in this inscription, '*Kuḍi*s who come and settle in this street should not be afraid of anything other than the fury of the wind and the heat of the sun.'

Analysis of Data

Relation to the king

We notice two features in particular concerning *nāyaka* rule in the region during the sixteenth century. One is the *nāyaka*s' close relationship to the king. Needless to say, their rule was legitimized only by the king, which is evident from the accounts given by foreign travellers, especially Nuniz and Paes. However, this relationship is also clear from some of the inscriptions examined above, where some *nāyaka*s are stated to be working as agents (*kāriyattukku-kaṟtarāna* or *kāriyattukku-kaḍavarāna*) of the king. In ins. 3, 4, 21, 22 and 27 Īśura Nāyaka, Tirumalai Nāyaka, Sūrappa Nāyaka, Krishṇappa Nāyaka and Koṇḍama Nāyaka are stated to be agents of the king. Many more such instances can be found in inscriptions other than the ones selected here.

Another piece of evidence is the reference to the *nāyakkattanam* given by the king. It is commonly believed that *nāyakkattanam* was given by the king to *nāyaka*s to enable them to maintain a certain military contingent for the king.[19] In many inscriptions, *nāyaka*s refer to some particular territorial division (*sīrmai*)[20] as their own. Among the cited inscriptions we find five such cases (ins. 8, 15, 18, 25 and 26). Harihara Nāyaka of Paḍaivīḍu refers to Paḍaivīḍu as his own

sīrmai in ins. 8. Though we do not have such evidence for Tirumalai Nāyaka, he also must have had Murugamaṅgala-paṟṟu which included Paḍaivīḍu or Brāhmadēsa-paṟṟu as his *nāyakkattanam* for some time, judging from his status as an agent of the king and also from the fact that he remitted the *paṭṭaḍai-nūlāyam* (an important revenue item) of two villages in Brāhmadēsa-paṟṟu as his own gift to a temple without referring it to the king. Sūrappa Nāyaka and his brother Vaiyappa Nāyaka called Peruṅkāñchi-sīrmai in the vicinity of Gingee their own *nāyakkattanam* in ins. 15, and the former *nāyaka* refers to Magada-maṇḍalam *alias* Irākuttanallūr-sīrmai in the upper valley of the Pennai river as the *nāyakkattanam* given to him by the king in ins. 18. In the case of Koṇḍama Nāyaka, a large territory of Bhuvanagiri-sīrmai is referred to as his *nāyaṅkara* (*nāyakkattanam*) in ins. 25.[21]

There is yet another type of evidence which shows the close relations *nāyaka*s had with the king. In many inscriptions we find *nāyaka*s seeking the king's permission for matters such as tax remission and land grants. In ins. 1, though it is not clear who took the initiative, the king or Tirumalai Nāyaka, the king's oral order is referred to in relation to the donation of the *paṭṭaḍai-nūlāyam* to a temple by Tirumalai Nāyaka. In ins. 2 it is clearly stated that Tirumalai and Īśura Nāyakas made a petition to the king for the assignment of two shepherds to a temple, which meant relinquinshment of *sādam* revenue due to the *nāyaka*s.[22]

Likewise, in ins. 12 and 13, the remission of *jōḍi* and *sūlavari* taxes for the benefit of the Jambai and Paḷḷichchandam temples was made possible by a petition to the king by Vaiyappa Nāyaka. Ins. 14 also indicates that the petition made by Vaiyappa Nāyaka to the king was necessary for the conversion of two villages into temple villages. From ins. 16 also we can infer that Sūrappa Nāyaka and Mallappa Nāyaka requested that the king remit the *āyam* taxes and allow them to donate eleven villages in some six *sīrmai*s and that the king also permitted them to make donations of four villages in some other *sīrmai*s.

In some cases, however, it is difficult to say whether it was really necessary for *nāyaka*s to get the king's permission for these matters, or whether the request was made only as a gesture to please the king, since we do not know whether these villages were in the *nāyakkattanam* or in the king's territory, if such a thing existed in the sixteenth century.[23] Clarification is left to future studies.

One thing is evident, however: that the *nāyaka*s, depending on the king's authority to legitimize their rule in the locality, tended to seek the king's favour. This is very clear from the frequent occurrence of the phrase 'for the merit (*puṇṇiyam* or *danmam*) of the king' on the occasion of land donation or tax remission made by *nāyaka*s of their own accord without seeking permission of the king. Ins. 1, 5, 8 and 16 provide such examples. As suggested earlier,[24] this phrase may well be understood as a way in which *nāyaka*s expressed their fidelity to the king. As we shall see later, the phrase is used to express the relations between *nāyaka*s as well.

*Nāyaka*s' dependence on the king's authority may be shown by yet another instance. In ins. 22, *nāṭṭavar*s or the local leaders swore to the king, a *nāyaka* as agent of the king, and an officer of the *nāyaka*, to abide by their own decision to grant artisans a certain privilege. This shows the extent to which *nāyaka*s had to depend on the king's authority for their local rule.

We shall now proceed to the relations among *nāyaka*s and those between *nāyaka*s and other local leaders. In our inscriptions there are some cases in which the *nāyaka*s had their own officers. For example, Īśura Nāyaka in ins. 2 had *sādam* collectors working for him, and Koṇḍama Nāyaka in ins. 24 had a secretary (*rāyasam*) serving him. Ins. 22 also gives us an example of *rāyasam* working for a *nāyaka*, and ins. 20 that of an agent (*kāriyattukku-kaṟtarāna*) of a *nāyaka*.

Apart from the existence of officers working under *nāyaka*s, we find many examples of subordination between two *nāyaka*s. The bext examples may be seen in the relation between Achyutappa Nāyaka and Koṇḍama Nāyaka in ins. 25 and 26. Achyutappa Nāyaka requested Koṇḍama Nāyaka to exempt the Śrīmushṇam temple from the *jōḍi* and *virāḍa* taxes, which the latter did. This relation is analogous to that between the king and *nāyaka*s examined above. Though the relation between Vaiyappa Nāyaka of Gingee and Bommu Nāyaka of Vēlūr in ins. 12 is not clear,[25] it also may be taken as a relation similar to the case seen above, that is as a subordinate relationship.

In the light of the two inscriptions from South Arcot and Salem Districts respectively (*AR* 1918-117, Kūgaiyūr, Ś. 1446/ A.D. 1524 and *AR* 1913-451, Āragaḷūr, Ś. 1446/ A.D. 1525) which record that at the time of Krishṇadēvarāya, Tirumalai Nāyaka bestowed one *sīrmai* (Teṉkarai-sīrmai) in the upper valley of Vellar river on Miruttañjeya

Nāyaka, who referred to Tirumalai as *svāmi*,[26] we may be able to interpret the subordination seen among the *nāyaka*s in terms of subinfeudation, though we need not presume subinfeudation for all the cases. More evidence of subinfeudation is found in ins. 25 and 26. Some three of the twelve villages mentioned in ins. 26 as being in Achyutappa Nāyaka's *nāyaṅkara* (*nāyakkattanam*) are found, along with some fourteen of the thirty-eight villages, in the large territory of the Bhuvanagiri-sīrmai which is recorded in ins. 25 as the *nāyaṅkara* of Koṇḍama Nāyaka, who was the master of Achyutappa.

The subinfeudation or subordination between *nāyaka*s is well attested to also by the frequent occurrence of the phrase 'for the merit of' in relation to *nāyaka*s. In ins. 8 Harihara Nāyaka tries to give merit to both Tirumalai Nāyaka and the king through his charity, and ins. 10, 19 and 32 also provide us with similar examples, though in the case of ins. 10 the person who gave merit to Tirumalai Nāyaka does not have a *nāyaka* title. These occurrences may well also be taken as a way of showing loyalty to a superior. One inscription from Kunnaṭṭūr in North Arcot (*AR* 1941/42-107, ś. 1474/ A.D. 1551) shows that Nalla Bommu Nāyaka, one of the Vēlūr *nāyaka*s and son of Kāḷama Nāyaka, gave merit to Krishṇa Nāyaka, Sūrappa Nāyaka and his father Kāḷama Nāyaka. Another inscription, from Elavānāsūr in South Arcot (*AR* 1937/8-489, no date) tells us that Bommu Nāyaka of Vēlūr gave merit to Krishṇappa Nāyaka. From these we may be able to confirm the subordination of Vēlūr *nāyaka*s to the Gingee *nāyaka*s, which has been suggested from the relation between Vaiyappa Nāyaka and Bommu Nāyaka in ins. 12 and 13.

Association with temples

Though the close link between the king and temples in Vijayanagar times has already been discussed by some scholars, their accounts chiefly concern the utilization of money granted to temples.[27] Here we shall examine another aspect, i.e., the benefit *nāyaka*s gained from their close association with temples.

The best example of this aspect is seen in the case of Achyutappa Nāyaka in ins. 25 and 26, who obtained the watchmanship (*talārikkam*) over more than thirty-eight villages of the Śrīmushṇam temple, a share in the administration of the said temple (*sthāna-nirvāham*) and the guardianship of the treasury (*tirmēni-kāval*) of the temple, for his donation of many properties including villages, and for his kindness in getting Koṇḍama Nāyaka to grant certain privileges to the temple.

As these rights were given as *kāṇiyāṭchi*,[28] we can presume that they brought a considerable amount of income to Achyutappa Nāyaka. It is also not difficult to suppose that *talārikkam* was paid in the form of dues taken from each village and that the remuneration of *sthāna-nirvāham* was probably given as *kāṇi* land to him by the temple authority, judging from the case in ins. 11, which provides us with another example of the *nāyaka*s' close association with temples and the merit derived by them from this. A share in *prasādam* must also have been a source of considerable income.

The *nāyaka*s' close association with temples in this manner must have brought in more than the income they were entitled to. The case of Tirumalai Nāyaka of Paḍaivīḍu is significant. Though we do not know in what capacity, he does appear in ins. 5 as one of the temple authorities, or as acting on their behalf, in assigning temple land to a certain individual. Moreover, in ins. 7 and 9 he himself appears as a lessee of a temple village in the form of *malaiyān-kaṭṭu-kuttagai*.[29] This shows how they benefited from their association with temples, and as I have suggested elsewhere (Chapter 7), the lease system must have been utilized as an apparatus through which *nāyaka*s could increase their strength in the locality. This explains to a great extent the enthusiasm of *nāyaka*s in the sixteenth century in making charitable donations to temples, though we should not ignore the element of genuine religious motivation. In addition, donations to temples gave *nāyaka*s the opportunity of expressing their loyalty to their superior, from which they must have derived benefits.

This argument, however, presupposes that many of the Vijayanagar period temples were rich enough to have a large number of tax-free villages or other sources of income. Therefore, we shall examine the economic conditions of the time, which must have determined the way in which the temples developed as socio-economic institutions.

Development of trade

The first thing we notice while reading Vijayanagar inscriptions of the sixteenth century, particularly after reading Chola inscriptions, is the development of trade in many localities. The frequent references to *paṭṭaḍai*, *taṟi*, *pēṭṭai*, Kaikkōḷas, Vāṇiyas, Sekku-vāṇiyas, Kaṇmāḷas, etc., are testimony to this phenomenon, which seems to have started in the fourteenth century or even earlier, judging from the appearance of many of these terms in fourteenth and fifteenth century inscriptions.

Among the thirty-four inscriptions given above, we have three instances (ins. 1, 6 and 16) of the donation of *paṭṭaḍai-nūlāyam*, which is the tax paid in cash by people who lived in *paṭṭaḍai* (artisan workshops). Though in the inscriptions there appears to be some confusion as to who were included in this category, it usually includes Kaikkōḷas and other artisans, and also merchants.[30] The Kaikkōḷas were weavers who increased their influence remarkably in Vijayanagar times and there are four instances (ins. 1, 5, 6 and 21) of the mention of them.

Ins. 1 gives us the names of Seṭṭis (merchants), Sekku-vāṇiyas (oil merchants), and Kōliyas (weavers), besides Kaikkōḷas as people who paid *paṭṭaḍai-nūlāyam*, and in ins. 6, 14, 21 and 22 we find the names of Ilai-vāṇiyas (betel-leaf sellers) and three groups of Kaṇmāḷas, i.e., Kollans (blacksmiths), Tachchans (carpenters) and Taṭṭāns (goldsmiths), besides some of the communities who appeared in ins. 1. This diversity of artisan and merchant communities itself shows the increased importance of these professions. Moreover, there are three references (ins. 19, 20 and 32) to a *pēṭṭai* (market) and one reference to a *vāra-sandai* (weekly fair), all of which related to the assignment of income or revenue accruing from them to some temples. The establishment of a new street in Chidambaram by Muttu Krishṇappa Nāyaka mentioned in ins. 34 should also be understood in the context of the development of trade and commerce in the sixteenth century.

This development is apparent not only from the frequent appearance of terms relating to communities of artisans and merchants and the revenue collected from them, but also from the privileges given to some of these communities. Ins. 22, which records the grant of tax remission to Kaṇmāḷa communities by the government and local powers shows their increasing influence in the central part of South Arcot District by virtue of the professional skills and unity of the whole Kaṇmāḷa community.[31] Similarly, other inscriptions record the privileges given to Kaikkōḷas towards the end of the fifteenth century.[32] Another instance of the development of trade is the grant by Koṇḍama Nāyaka to the Perumpaṟṟappuliyūr temple of the commission on the pepper trade (*miḷagu-taragu*) due from six localities (*paṟṟu*) along the Vellar river (ins. 23). This must have been related to the development of foreign trade in the sixteenth century. An inscription from Kūgaiyūr in South Arcot (*AR* 1918-103, Ś. 1404/ A.D. 1482) tells about the compulsory cultivation of sugar-cane

in the upper valley of the Vellar river in the latter half of the fifteenth century, which may also be linked to the development of foreign trade, since sugar was an important export of the time and the locality was on the trade route between South Arcot and Kerala.

In examining such data, the important role played by temples in the development of trade becomes clear. It has already been pointed out that the Kaikkōḷas, being closely associated with temples, were often induced to work within the temple precincts (*tirumaḍaiviḷāgam*).[33] Among the fifteenth and sixteenth century inscriptions of this region we find plenty of evidence of this practice and their association with temples seems to date back even earlier.[34] Their association with the *dēvaraḍiyārs* who worked in temples is also noteworthy.[35] The appearance of Kaikkōḷa-mudalis among members of the temple management in a transaction mentioned in ins. 5 should be seen as the outcome of their long and close association with the temple.

Not only Kaikkōḷas, but other *paṭṭaḍai* people were also induced by temple authorities or other local leaders to come and settle in the temple precincts or temple villages. We have much evidence to confirm this practice for the fifteenth century,[36] and the association of artisans and merchants with temples must have been responsible to a great extent for the development of temples in Vijayanagar times, which explains in turn the *nāyakas*' desire for associating themselves with temples. Temples were big consumers of imported goods. This aspect will be studied later (Chapter 10).

The rise of new landholders

The question of landholding by the agricultural communities should be considered briefly, though an in depth examination of this aspect must be reserved for future studies. The first thing we notice is the multiplicity of the landholding class in terms of the different communities they belong to. The proliferation of communities of landholders must have occurred through purchase, lease and the violent expropriation of lands by people who increased their power over the local community, or who migrated to the region following the invasions by Vijayanagar armies during the fifteenth century.

Ins. 14 shows that a Seṭṭi obtained the *kāṇi* right to a village through a lease. Ins. 7 and 9 are cases where Tirumalai Nāyaka himself became the *kāṇi*-right holder. The examination of other inscriptions suggests that the Gavuṇḍas, Reḍḍis, Kaikkōḷas and

Manṟāḍis also became landlords in one way or another. Ins. 22 and related inscriptions give us the names of Mudaliyar, Piḷḷai and Reḍḍiyār among local leaders who assembled and granted tax remission to the Kaṇmāḷa community, and it seems that they were the leaders of *nāṭṭavar*, though there is some ambiguity on this point.[37] The *nāṭṭavar* or *nāṭṭār* of this period need not always be taken to be the leading landholders of a certain territory, but there seems to be little doubt that they had certain rights to the land through the offices they held in the local administration and obtained an allotted portion of income from the land,[38] even if they were not landholders in the proper sense of the term.

In contrast to the abundance of information on the rise of new landholders, the fate of those who composed the lower stratum of the agricultural community is not clear due to lack of reliable information. Though we do not hear about the cultivators 'running away', which often appears in the inscriptions of earlier centuries, we do come across the expression 'bring cultivators to the land' (*kuḍiyum ēṟṟi*) in many inscriptions recording the donation or lease of land which often comprised newly-reclaimed plots. It is very difficult to say, however, what this availability of cultivators meant. Later in Chapter 6 we shall study the condition of cultivators to a certain extent.

Another notable point is the growth in importance, or elevation in status, of certain leading individuals. We have an example of an individual who grew to be a local leader, increasing his economic and political power, in Kaṇḍiyadēvar, who was granted the title of Yādavarāya by the Mudalis of a larger territory (ins. 38). The mention of the names of certain Reḍḍis, Piḷḷais and others individually in the assembly of the local people in ins. 22 and others shows the breaking up of the local homogeneous organizations of the middle Chola period, such as *nāḍu*, in which no importance was given to members as individuals.

We have an example of the growth in importance of individuals even at the village level. Ins. 10, recording land sales by the *ūravar*, describes them as 'the villagers Sellaṅga Vīrappa Gavuṇḍan and others' (*ūravar sellaṅga vīrappa gavuṇḍan uḷḷiṭṭār*). In Chola inscriptions the name of a leading individual would not be linked with *ūravar*, though *uḷḷiṭṭār* is commonly used in cases of land sale or donation without a direct link to *ūrār* (*ūravar*), and the name of a *madhyastha* or a *kaṇakku* is usually found in the signatory portion

at the end of many Chola inscriptions.

Another example is given by an inscription from Tiruvāmāttūr (*AR* 1922-9, ś. 1506 / A.D. 1584) in South Arcot, which records the agreement between the people of a village and the temple in a neighbouring village on the digging of a water channel. The matter was settled in the presence of the agent of a *nāyaka* (Achchutappa),[39] and the village representatives were an *ūravar*, a *pāḍikāval*, an *ūrkaṇakku* and a *taṭṭār*. After each of these status terms, one personal name was given. Judging from the context, the person appearing after the term *ūravar* may be regarded as the village headman. The Gavuṇḍa title held in the previous inscription indicates the status of the headman in some localities.[40]

Historical Implications of the Findings

What picture emerges of *nāyaka* administration from our examination? I will focus on the characteristics of *nāyaka* rule in the sixteenth century, setting the problem in its historical perspective.

The first noteworthy feature is, as already indicated, the *nāyaka*'s close relationship with the king, though this varied in degree. Their requests to him for tax remissions or land grants is frequently referred to in the inscriptions, and many of them were agents working under the king at a certain period of their rule. Therefore, the legitimacy of their territorial rule was initially derived from the authority given by the king.

Nevertheless, they differ from their fourteenth and fifteenth century predecessors in one important point, which is in having a certain territory (*sīrmai*) as their *nāyakkattanam*. The intruding Vijayanagar warriors in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were important officials such as governors of a region (*mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* and *mahāpradhāni*), generals (*daṇṇaik* or *daṇḍanāyaka*) on a campaign, or revenue officers called *adikāri*, and were administrators more than anything else. They did not have their own clear-cut territory such as *nāyakkattanam*. In this sense, the sixteenth-century *nāyaka*s displayed more clearly the characteristics of feudal lords. This feudal relationship was seen not only between the king and *nāyaka*s, but also among the *nāyaka*s themselves, between superiors and inferiors, which is also well reflected in the reference to the merit given by the underlord for the benefit of the lord. At the bottom level, this feudal hierarchy embraced the big landholders in a village.

Another important factor shaping the characteristics of *nāyaka*s of this period is the condition of the economy, particularly of trade. The development of trade, which had started probably in the thirteenth century, continued all through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in this region.[41] *Nāyaka*s in the sixteenth century responded to this development by drawing artisans and merchants into the framework of their rule, giving encouragement and protection to them, as shown by the tax remission given to Kaṇmāḷas, and the *talārikkam* collected from the weekly fair. These processes must have been closely linked to the development of foreign trade, as shown by the enforced cultivation of sugar-cane seen in the fifteenth century, and the commission on the pepper trade payable to Koṇḍama Nāyaka.

His son, Muttu Krishṇappa Nāyaka, is known as the builder of a port town, Krishṇapaṭṭiṇam, the modern Porto Novo, at the mouth of the river Vellar.[42]

As for the state of petty landholders and cultivators, we do not have enough information at present, but a few points emerge: one, the appearance of new landholders in terms of caste-bound communities. In addition to the former Brāhmaṇa and Veḷḷāḷa landholders (*kāṇiyāḷar*), who were known to have oppressed cultivators and artisans, the new composition included Reḍḍis, Seṭṭis, Kaikkōḷas and others; secondly, the absence from the latter half of the fifteenth century of references in inscriptions to conflicts between landholders and cultivators (*kuḍigaḷ*) such as the oppression of the latter by the former and the 'running away' of cultivators, not to speak of the open revolt of cultivators and artisans which occurred in the first half of the fifteenth century; thirdly, the reclamation and colonization of land by new cultivators which continued into the sixteenth century.

Until a detailed study of the management of land by these new landholders has been done, it will be difficult to define the characteristics of *nāyaka* rule in terms of the mode of production. Nevertheless, some points can be suggested on the basis of our findings in this chapter and Chapter 6 below.

The *nāyaka*s accumulated certain rights to land or village, as is shown by the *kāṇi* right to land, or the *talaiyārikkam* of temple villages. Many *nāyaka*s seem to have been associated with the management of temples also, which enabled them to accumulate such rights. Their relationship with landholders and cultivators, and with artisans and merchants, was therefore not only as tax collectors or

administrative agents of the king, but also as landlords who controlled production in the locality, directly or indirectly through the hierarchical network of lord-vassal relations, which reached down to the landholders and occupant cultivators in the villages.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the *nāyaka*s' strength and independence increased further.[43] We have a good number of inscriptions which record tax remissions by Koṇḍama Nāyaka, but there is no single instance among them in which he refers to the king in the earlier manner of expressing fidelity, even though he is described as an agent of the king in ins. 27. His inscriptions reveal to us the way in which he controlled production in his large territory. The image we get of him, and that of Muttu Krishṇappa Nāyaka, in whose presence a title was granted to a certain local chief by the intralocal assembly of the Mudalis, parallels the image of a feudal lord of medieval Europe or Japan.

In the seventeenth century, however, there occurred again in Tamilnadu a chain of invasions and internal wars. The assurance given by Muttu Krishṇappa Nāyaka to the people: 'You should not be afraid of anything other than the fury of the wind and the heat of the sun,' seems to have predicted the unlucky fortunes of the successors of those *nāyaka*s and even more so, the people who lived in the seventeenth century under their rule.

Conclusion

We cannot but feel in reading the Vijayanagar inscriptions of Tamilnadu that the social formation in the sixteenth century was different from that of Chola times. The social formation in the heyday of Chola rule showed a tendency for the state to seize direct control over the people, through state administrators; attempting to bypass the hold of local community organizations like the *nāḍu*.[44] The social formation of the Vijayanagar period inferred from the above examination displays some resemblance to the feudalism which characterized medieval western Europe or Japan.

The image of sixteenth-century *nāyaka*s in North and South Arcot Districts as a group who are granted the territory and legitimacy of their rule by the king on the one hand, and who strengthened their power through the accumulation of certain rights over the management of production in local areas on the other, may allow us to regard them as feudal lords and to interpret the sixteenth

century in South India as the period when feudal relations developed to a certain degree at least in one region.

However, this study is confined to a small region whose ecological and historical patterns may not be similar to those in other areas, and no detailed analysis has been attempted of the problems of landholdings and commodity circulation. Only after making detailed studies of these points and also the problems of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, shall we be able to generalize on the basis of what has been suggested in this chapter and discuss the characteristics of Indian feudalism.

NOTES

1. Harbans Mukhia, 'Was There Feudalism in Indian History?', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, vol. 8, no. 3, 1981; and R. S. Sharma, 'How Feudal was Indian Feudalism?', *Social Scientist*, no. 129, February 1984 (Both reprinted in T. J. Byres and Harbans Mukhia (ed.), *Feudalism and Non-European Societies*, London, 1985).
2. Nurul Hasan, 'The Position of the Zamindars in the Mughal Empire', *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, vol. 1, no. 4, 1964 (reprinted in R. E. Frykenberg (ed.), *Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History*, Madison, 1969); Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, Bombay, 1963. More recently Habib has discussed more generally the problem of pre-colonial economic formations in India in 'Classifying Economic Formations in Pre-Colonial India', paper presented at the Marx Centenary Seminar, New Delhi, October 1983.
3. Hamza Alavi, 'India: The Transition to Colonial Capitalism', and P. B. Mayer, 'South India, North India: The Capitalist Transformation of Two Provincial Districts', in Hamza Alavi *et al.*, *Capitalism and Colonial Production*, London and Canberra, 1982.
4. D. N. Jha, 'Temples as Landed Magnates in Early Medieval South India (*c.* A.D. 700–1300)', in R. S. Sharma and V. Jha (ed.), *Indian Society: Historical Probings* (In Memory of D.D. Kosambi), New Delhi, 1974 (reprinted in D. N. Jha, *Studies in Early Indian Economic History*, Delhi, 1980); R. N. Nandi, 'Feudalization of the State in Medieval South India', *Social Science Probings*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1984.
5. The evidence given by Venkataramanayya is the absence in Vijayanagar society of feudal relations based upon fealty and homage and also of the practice of subinfeudation, both of which characterize European feudalism (Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, New Delhi, 1980, p. 376). Stein's aversion to applying the concept of feudalism to Vijayanagar

society, however, comes largely from the continuity of the 'segmentary' nature of state and society, which he admits for the period from the Cholas to the Vijayanagar rulers. See Stein, *Peasant State and Society*; also T. Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib (ed.), *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, vol. I, Cambridge, 1982, pp. 102–24.

6. There is a difference of opinion amongst scholars concerning the definition of feudalism. In this study I would like to understand feudalism theoretically as having the following four basic features: (1) the basic direct producers are not slaves but peasants who own the means of production themselves; (2) local magnates who possess superior rights to the land that the peasants cultivate, subdue the peasants under their control and extract surplus produce by means of extra-economic coercion; (3) political power assumes a hierarchical structure which is sustained by land grants among the ruling class and also by a certain ideology; and (4) commodity production is not generalized but limited only to the surplus portion which is appropriated by the exploiting class. The purpose of this chapter is to clarify mainly the development of the second and third features mentioned above in the context of later medieval South Indian society.
7. As a typical example of such studies, we may quote the works of T. V. Mahalingam given in the introduction.
8. There are many inscriptions which record his mission. Examples are: *AR* 1935-213, Nerkunam, SA; *AR* 1935-11, Arakandanallur, SA; *AR* 1937-262, Siddhalingamadam, SA; and *AR* 1919-310, Avur, NA. Most of them date to Ś. 1393/A.D. 1470).
9. See Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, Introduction and Chapter 1.
10. See Chapter 8 below.
11. T. V. Mahalingam and B. R. Gopal prepared a list of Vijayanagar inscriptions. The part concerning Tamilnadu of this unpublished list, to which I got access by the kind permission of Dr. B. R. Gopal, gives us the following numbers for the districts in Tamilnadu: Chingleput, 537; Madras City, 40; North Arcot, 345; South Arcot, 405; Tiruchirapalli, 255; Thanjavur, 130; Pudukkottai, 123; Dharmapuri, 62; Coimbatore, 49; Salem, 27; Ramanathapuram, 38; Madurai, 22; and Tirunelveli, 14.
12. In some inscriptions, they are described as the ones in the regiment of Kannaḍiya-nāyakas who were stationed at Marudarasar-paḍaivīdu. Marudarasar may be the title of the person who first established their settlement in Padaivīdu.
13. For the history of Gingee Nāyakas, see C. S. Srinivasachari, *A History of Gingee and Its Rulers*, Annamalainagar, 1943, a good pioneer work.
14. For *uchāvaḍi*, see Y. Subbarayalu, 'Chavadi, an Administrative Division of the Vijayanagar Empire', *Proceedings of the IIIrd Session of the South Indian History Congress*, 1982, pp. 84–7. I have the impresion that *uchāvaḍi* lost its importance as an administrative centre in the sixteenth century, coinciding with the growth of *nāyaka* power.
15. It seems there were several Tirumalai Nāyakas during the 16th century,

and it is very difficult to distinguish one from the other. Among Paḍaivīḍu *nāyakas* also we find at least two Tirumalai Nāyakas. One is the son of Etappa (Ekappa) Nāyaka and brother of Īśura Nāyaka (*AR* 1912-355, Dēvikāpuram, Ś. 1420/A.D. 1500) and the other is the son of Sadāsiva Nāyaka (*AR* 1912-373, Dēvikāpuram, Ś. 1452/A.D. 1530). I have selected here the inscriptions which, I believe, concern the former Tirumalai. Though Kāḷattīsura Nāyaka, whose inscription is also selected, is known as a son of Tirumalai Nāyaka (*AR* 1912-356, Dēvikāpuram, S. 1455/A.D. 1533), this Tirumalai seems to be the latter judging from the fact that Kāḷattīsura Nāyaka remitted the tax for the benefit of a temple which was built by the Tirumalai whose father was Sadāsiva (*AR* 1912-373, Dēvikāpuram, Ś. 1452/A.D.1530).

16. The following three are known as the chiefs of this family, Kulasēkara, Veṉrumaṅkoṇḍa and Rājanārāyana.

17. There are two inscriptions (*AR* 1917-860 and 861, both Tirupparankunram, Madurai District, Ś. 1593/A.D. 1671) and a chronicle called *Karnāṭaka Rājākkaḷ Savistāracharitam* recorded in Mackenzie Manuscripts (W. Taylor, *A Catalogue Raisonne of Oriental Manuscripts in the Government Library*, vol. 3, Madras, 1862).

18. The arguments made by A. Krishnaswami are very confusing and contradictory (see for instance *Tamil Country Under Vijayanagar*, pp. 252 and 256, where the successor of Krishṇappa is discussed). From inscriptional evidence it is very clear that Muttu Krishṇappa is a son of Koṇḍama, a grandson of Krishṇappa, and a great-grandson of Vaiyappa. However, it is difficult to locate Sūrappa in his proper place in their genealogy, though he seems to have belonged to the same family (both of them assume Kāsyappa-gōtra) and comes chronologically in between Vaiyappa and Krishṇappa. Sūrappa had a brother called Vaiyappa, and their father is known as Pottappa. However, the father of Vaiyappa who is the great-grandfather of Muttu Krishṇappa is known as Timma according to the Tirupparankunram inscription. Further study is required to settle the problem.

19. Venkataramanayya, *Third Dynasty*, p. 170; Mahalingam, *Administration*, rev. ed., p. 201.

20. The Tamil form of *sīrmai* or *sīmai* seems to have derived from the Kannada *sīme* or Telugu *sīma*. It means 'land' in this context and can be applicable to any size of land. In the inscriptions also it is applied to both a small territorial division and a big area. Sometimes it seems to have been composed of many detached estates.

21. Bhuvanagiri-sīrmai is mentioned in ins. 24 as Buvaṉēkavīran-paṭṭaṇa-sīrmai which included some six *paṟṟu*s. In ins. 24 and 33 it is mentioned just as Paṭṭana-sīrmai. However, the latter tells us that it included some twelve *paṟṟu*s also. The area of those twelve *paṟṟu*s composed the western part of the inter-river zone between the Pennai and Vellar rivers. The six *paṟṟu*s mentioned in ins. 24 extended along the Vellar river. Since some of the seventeen *paṟṟu*s mentioned as a group in ins. 27 are found in the middle Vellar valley, the seventeen *paṟṟu*s may also have been included in the above *sīrmai*, comprising part of northern Tiruchirapalli District also. From these, we can infer that it covered a fairly large area. Actually it is equated

with Vaḷudilampaṭṭu-uchāvaḍi (which was one of the important administrative divisions in Tamilnadu in the 15th century) in one of the inscriptions of Krishṇadēvarāya's time (*AR* 1938-494, Elavānāsūr, Ś. 1442/A.D. 1520), which also tells us that Buvaṉēkavīran-paṭṭaṇa-sīrmai was at that time a *nāyakkattanam* of Timmappa Nāyaka who was a son of an official of the king.

22. *Sādam* seems to be a tax payable by the shepherd community (Maṉṟāḍi or Iḍaiyar). Reflecting the fact that many shepherds lived in the Paḍaivīḍu area, *sādam* seems to have been an important revenue item for the government of that area. Instead of making land grants, therefore, the assignment of some shepherd family to a temple as *tiruviḷakku-kuḍi* for burning lamps was common in this area.
23. *Paṇḍāravāḍai*, interpreted as crown land by Venkataramanayya, cannot be crown land (see Chapter 12 below). However, there remains a possibility that some territory not assigned to *nāyaka*s but belonging to the king existed.
24. Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, p. xxxii (Introduction).
25. Vēlūr (Vellore) was another centre of *nāyaka*s, and we know the names of several *nāyaka*s who belong to the same family. They were either Kannaḍigas or Telugus judging from their names.
26. Though the date of this inscription tallies with those of Paḍaivīḍu Tirumalai, son of Ekappa, it is not clear whether the two are the same or not.
27. Burton Stein, 'The Economic Function of a Medieval South Indian Temple', *Journal of Asian Studies*, XIX, 1960.
28. *Kāṇiyāṭchi* is a well protected hereditary right.
29. The three segments of the term *malaiyān-kaṭṭu-kuttagai* mean 'unchange', 'gross' and 'lease' respectively and as a whole, it means 'lease for a fixed price'.
30. In an inscription (*AR* 1925-429, Tiruttalur, SA, Ś. 1365/A.D. 1442) Kaikkōḷas were mentioned separately from the people of *paṭṭaḍai*.
31. We have four more inscriptions whose contents are similar. See Chapter 9 below.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Mahalingam, *Administration*, rev. ed., part 2, p. 22.
34. It is indicated in a Pandyan (Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya) inscription of this region (*AR* 1916-28, Śrīmushṇam).
35. An inscription from Kūgaiyūr in South Arcot (*AR* 1918-117, Ś. 1446/A.D. 1524) records that Kaikkōḷas and Dēvaraḍiyārs working in the Pañchāksharanādar temple were given certain privileges.
36. They are: *AR* 1916-230, Śrīmushṇam, Ś. 1365/A.D. 1443; *AR* 1918-91, Vriddhāchalam, Ś. 1352/A.D. 1429; *AR* 1921-461, Tiruveṇṇainallūr, Ś. 1393/A.D. 1472; *AR* 1929-250, Peṇṇāḍam, Ś. 1365/A.D. 1443; *AR* 1929-290, Eḍaiyār, Ś. 1337/A.D. 1415; *AR* 1929-291, Eḍaiyār, Ś. 1407/A.D. 1485; *AR* 1935-208 Neṟkunam, Ś. 1399/A.D. 1478; etc.
37. It is difficult to say from ins. 22 whether or not those whose name and titles are mentioned were included in the *nāṭṭavar*, but in some other

inscriptions with a similar content studied in Chapter 9, it is clear that the individuals including certain Reḍḍiyārs whose names are given in those inscriptions were members of the *nāṭṭavar*. See Chapter 2 also.

38. The individuals who appear as members of the *nāṭṭavar* in an inscription quoted in Chapter 9 (*AR* 1928/29-293) have the title *uḍaiyār* or the designation *vāsal mudalippēr*.

39. Though there is no evidence, this Achchutappa Nāyaka might be the same as his namesake who appeared in ins. 25 and 26 as an agent of Koṇḍama Nāyaka, judging from the period and the locality mentioned in these inscriptions.

40. The *āyagar* system, which is known to scholars as the village management system by the twelve functionaries, or officers, was first discussed by Venkataramanayya who based his argument on a late Telugu work called *Aṭṭavaṇa Tantram* (*Third Dynasty*, pp. 160 ff.). The discussion was repeated by Mahalingam in his *Administration* (p. 255 ff.) and recently by Burton Stein in *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, vol. I, p. 109 ff. They agree on the point that the system acquired importance during the Vijayanagar period, and Stein seems to believe that it was introduced into the Tamil country also. Though the two inscriptions mentioned above may give some support to his view, I am rather doubtful about the prevalence of this system in Tamilnadu during and after Vijayanagar rule. I have never come across in Tamil inscriptions either the term *āyagar* or evidence which suggests the functioning of any such organization as described in the sources outside Tamilnadu. The data Mahalingam depended on are a statement by Wilks and a few Kannada inscriptions.

41. See Chapter 10 below.

42. Krishnaswami, *Tamil Country*, p. 281.

43. For this, the defeat in Talikota would have had an effect, I admit.

44. See Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, Introduction; Subbarayalu, 'The Chola State', *Studies in History*, vol. 4, no. 2 (1982), pp. 265-306.

CHAPTER 2

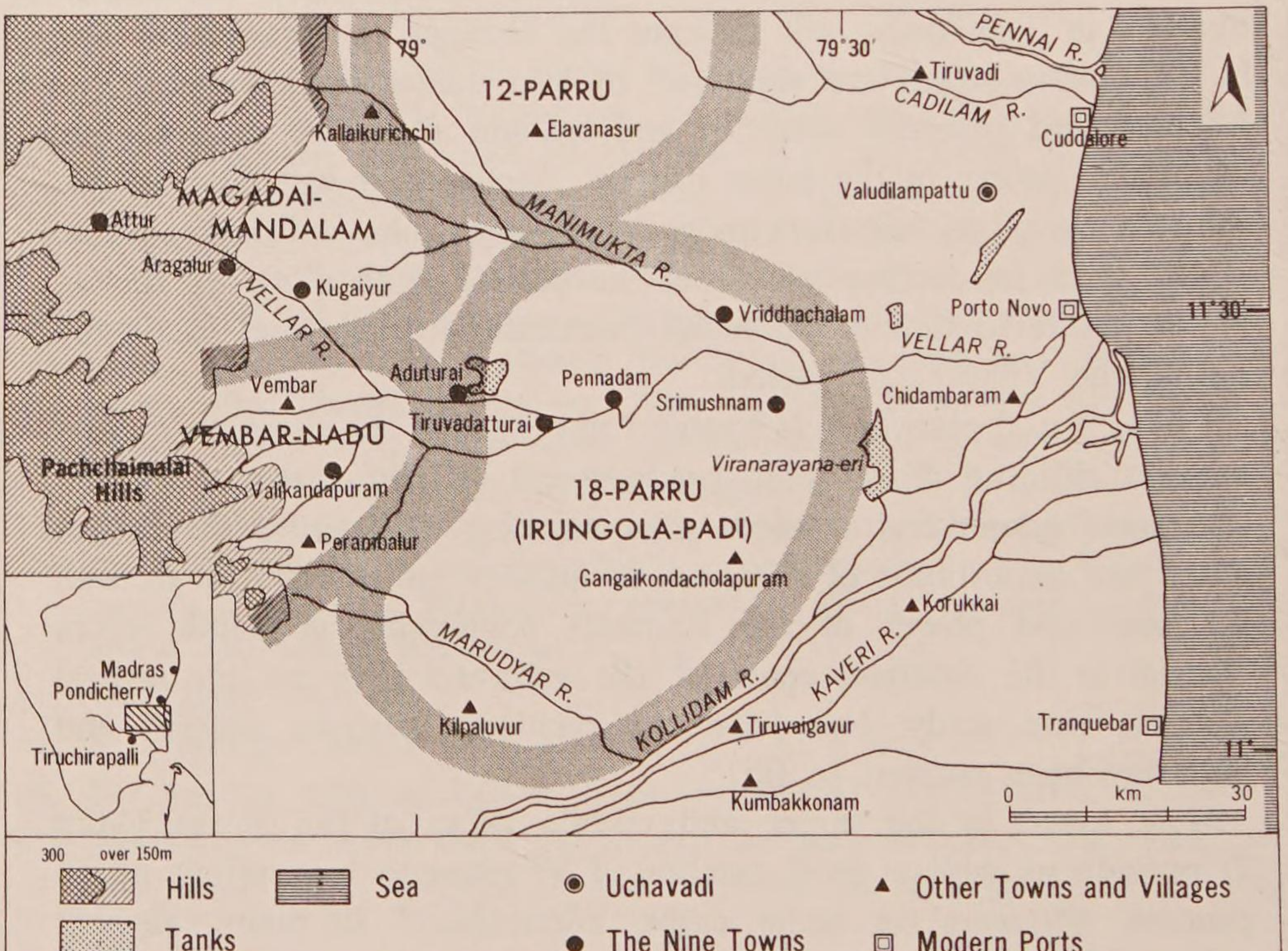
VIJAYANAGAR RULE AND *NĀṬṬAVARS* IN THE VELLAR VALLEY

An examination of Vijayanagar inscriptions concerning the *nāṭṭavars*[1] of the Vellar valley in the South Arcot, Salem and Tiruchirapalli districts in Tamilnadu will indicate the changes in Vijayanagar rule in Tamilnadu which are supposed to have taken place between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and brought about the consolidation of *nāyaka* power in the latter century. Secondly, it will help analyse the role played by *nāṭṭavar*s under Vijayanagar rule, and their position in the local production system of the period. Both aims are related to the effort to define the social formation prevailing in Tamilnadu during the Vijayanagar period.

I have stated elsewhere (Chapter 1 above), that the sixteenth-century *nāyaka*s differed from their predecessors of the earlier centuries, who were administrators more than anything else, and while I have noted the importance of *nāṭṭavar*s in another study which deals with the increased power of the Kaṇmāḷa community in South Arcot District in the sixteenth century,[2] the *nāṭṭavar*s were not the central issue in that study. Nor have the relations between *nāyaka*s and *nāṭṭavar*s been studied so far.

Nine towns in the upper and middle valley of the Vellar (Map 2) provide us with a good number of Vijayanagar inscriptions which concern *nāṭṭavar*s (in some cases, *nāṭṭuvēḷān*).[3] In many, *nāyaka*s also appear, and in some cases *nāyaka*s promise *nāṭṭavar*s relief from the heavy tax burden; in some other cases, *nāyaka*s and *nāṭṭavar*s collaborate in granting lands to temples or remitting certain taxes from temples. These instances, therefore, reveal the relation between *nāyaka*s and *nāṭṭavar*s, and also the position of *nāṭṭavar*s in the ruling structure. We may be able to infer from them the character of the *nāṭṭavar*s of the day.

Forty-three inscriptions from nine towns along the upper and middle parts of the Vellar river[4] were selected for examination. Of the nine towns, Āṭṭūr, Āragaḷūr and Kūgaiyūr in the upper valley were included in contemporary Magadai-maṇḍalam, while Vālikaṇḍapuram, Tiruvaḍatturai, Āḍuturai, Peṇṇāḍam, Vriddhāchalam and Srīmushṇam in the middle valley comprised a part of Vēmbār-nāḍu and '18-paṟṟu'



Map 2 The Vellar valley during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

or Iruṅgōḷappāḍi. Of these 43 inscriptions, 22 concern the upper valley and 21 the middle valley. All except a few date to either the fifteenth or the sixteenth century. However, there are also many inscriptions in which the *nāṭṭavar*s do not appear, but *nāyaka*s appear in most as the grantors of land, tax remission, etc. When necessary, we shall examine these inscriptions and also the inscriptions of other towns and villages both inside and outside the area.

Upper Valley

Examination of inscriptions

1. Āttūr *AR* 1913-407, A.D. 1509.
Tulukkaṇa Nāyaka granted to a Brāhmaṇa a village on the northern bank of the Vellar river in the name of his mother. Boundary stones were plaeced and Ārṟurnāṭṭuvēḷān signed the document.

2. Āragaḷūr *AR* 1913-413, A.D. 1504.
A settlement of a dispute over the *pūjā* right in the Āragaḷūr temple. This dispute between two priests was settled once by the *nāṭṭavar*s of the locality, but the party which lost the case appealed to Tirumalai Nāyaka when he visited the temple. The *nāyaka* decided the matter with the help of Brāhmaṇas from four *agrahāra* villages and restored the right of the priest who had lost the case previously.

3. Āragaḷūr, *AR* 1913-420, A.D. 1505.
Allāḷanāda Iḷaiya Nāyaka and the *nāṭṭavar*s of Aṟṟūr (*nāḍu*) and Mulaippāḍu (*nāḍu*) decided to burn lamps in the Āragaḷūr temple for the health of Eramāñji Tulukkaṇa Nāyaka. For that purpose, one *nāḻi* of oil seed per plough was to be collected within their *nāḍu*s.

4. Āragaḷūr, *AR* 1913-422, A.D. 1482.
A proclamation to the *nāṭṭavar*s of Magadai-maṇḍalam by Tiyāgaṇa Nāyaka. The *nāṭṭavar*s told the *nāyaka* or his superior about their sufferings from arbitrary and exploitative taxation, and Tiyāgaṇa Nāyaka assured them of justice in tax collection. He swore to this in the name of his superior (the king or a superior *nāyaka*).

5. Āragaḷūr *AR* 1913-423, A.D. 1464 ?
Timmaya Nāyaka promised the *nāṭṭavar*s of Magadai-maṇḍalam that their tax burden would be reduced and certain taxes remitted. Rates are also prescribed for certain items. Partially built over and damaged.

6. Kūgaiyūr *AR* 1918-96, A.D. 1464.
Almost the same as the Āragaḷūr inscription above (1913-423). At the end, Timmaya Nāyaka swore in the name of Varadaya Nāyaka that he would undertake this tax remission.

7. Kūgaiyūr *AR* 1918-97, A.D. 1447.
A proclamation to the *nāṭṭavar*s of Magadai-maṇḍalam by Tirumalai Nāyaka who came to know that the people (*kuḍi*) of the *maṇḍalam* had been suffering grievously from heavy taxation since the rod of 18 'feet' had been used for measuring both *nañjey* (wet land) and *puñjey* (dry land). He instructed them to use a new rod of 20 'feet' to reduce the burden on the people.

8. Kūgaiyūr, *AR* 1918-99, A.D. 1543.
An *adikāri* named Meypōkayār and the *nāṭṭavar*s (*nāttil mudaliyaḷ*) assigned the income of a village to the Kūgaiyūr temple for the expenses of a *pūjā* to be conducted for the merit of Viśvanātha Nāyaka. Magadaināṭṭuvēḷān signed the document.

9. Kūgaiyūr, *AR* 1918-101, A.D. 1524.
The *tānattār*s of the Kūgaiyūr temple sold the right of conducting *pūjā*s for seven and a half days in the temple to a certain Nambi, assigning priesthood of the temple to three Brāhmaṇas, including the above Nambi in the presence of an agent (Perumukkil Nāyaka) of Tirumalai Nāyaka and the *nāṭṭavar*s (of Tenkarai-sīrmai).

10. Kūgaiyūr, *AR* 1918-103, A.D. 1482.
A proclamation to the *nāṭṭavar* of Tenkarai (-sīrmai) given by Chikkaparuvada Nāyaka. People of the *sīrmai* were suffering from such acts of misgovernment as exploitative tax collection by officers who ignored the old customs of the locality. Enforced cultivation and pressing of sugarcane in each village also seems to have troubled the people. The *nāyaka* decided to restore the order observing the old custom and accept the *nāṭṭavar*'s decision in tax collection, including the requisition for forced labour (*āḷamañji-ēr*).

11. Kūgaiyūr, *AR* 1918-105, latter half of the sixteenth century?
A chief (Sūrappa Vāṇḍayār) and the *nāṭṭavar*s of Tenkarai sīrmai granted to achieve merit for themselves many plots of land in various villages in the *sīrmai* to a Brāhmaṇa, who was to conduct a ritual to a goddess.

12. Kūgaiyūr, *AR* 1918-106, A.D. 1562.
An agent (Telugu name) of Sūrappa Nāyaka and the *nāṭṭavar*s of

Tenkarai-sīrmai assigned the income accruing from the tax for protection (*talaiyārikkam*) on the movement of merchandise to and from the market (Kūgaiyūr-pēṭṭai) towards the expenses of a special *pūjā* to be conducted in the Kūgaiyūr temple for the merit of *adikāri* Krishṇappa Nāyaka.

13. Kūgaiyūr, *AR* 1918-109, A.D. 1414.
A proclamation of the *nāṭṭavar*s of Magadai-maṇḍalam by Nārāyappa Nāyaka. He decided not to collect *kāṇikkai* (obligatory presents) which had been levied for the previous four years.

14. Kūgaiyūr, *AR* 1918-112, A.D. 1546.
Urattappāppu Nāyaka, an agent of Veṅgappaiyan who was an agent of Sūrappa Nāyaka, the *tānattār* (administrators) of the Kūgaiyūr temple and the *ūravar* (leading villagers) of Kūgaiyūr decided to establish a market (Tiruppaṇi-pēṭṭai) to raise funds for repairing the temple. They demarcated the boundary of the market within which people (*kuḍi*) were to be settled. The *nāṭṭavar* of Tenkarai-sīrmai also signed the document.

15. Kūgaiyūr, *AR* 1918-113, A.D. 1531.
The *nāṭṭavar*s of Tenkarai (sīrmai) granted a village (Maṭṭaipārai) in their territory with all its revenue (?) to the Kūgaiyūr temple in the presence of Ayyan Saṅkayyan. The grant was made for the merit of the *nāṭṭavar*s themselves.

16. Kūgaiyūr, *AR* 1918-114, A.D. 1547.
Vaḍamalai Nāyaka, son of an agent (Sōḍippāppu Nāyaka) of Sūrappa Nāyaka, and the *nāṭṭavar*s of Tenkarai-sīrmai, granted to the Kūgaiyūr temple a plot of wet land (115 *kuḻi*) and a plot of garden land towards the expenses of performing *pūjā*. Magadaināṭṭuvēḷān signed the document.

17. Kūgaiyūr, *AR* 1918-115, A.D. 1524.
Miruttañjaya Nāyaka and the *nāṭṭavar*s (of Tenkarai-sīrmai) granted a village in their territory with all its revenue to the Kūgaiyūr temple to earn merit for the king Krishṇadēvarāya and *svāmi* Tirumalai Nāyaka. Many taxes are enumerated.

18. Kūgaiyūr, *AR* 1918-116, A.D. 1524.
Miruttuñjaya Nāyaka, agent of Tirumalai Nāyaka, and the *nāṭṭavar*s (of Tenkarai-sīrmai) granted a plot of wet land (60 *kuḻi*) in a village on the southern bank of the Vellar river to the Kūgaiyūr temple, and also exempted the temple from paying 25 *paṇam* to the tax

collector (*āyak-kārar*) for *piṟavari* (miscellaneous taxes) and *sammādam* (obligatory presents).

19. Kūgaiyūr, *AR* 1918-117, A.D. 1524.
Miruttuñjaya Nāyaka, agent of Tirumalai Nāyaka, and the *nāṭṭavars* of Āragaḷūr-sīrmai Tenkarai, assigned plots of wet land, looms, plots of garden land, etc. in the *dēvadāna* villages of the Kūgaiyūr temple to the Kaikkōḷa-mudalīs and Dēvaraḍiyārs who worked in the temple. The names of three Kaikkōḷa-mudalis and fourteen Dēvaraḍiyārs are mentioned and it is stipulated that they can enjoy the land and other items free from tax while engaged in doing their work of service in the temple. Magadaināṭṭuvēḷān signed the document.

20. Kūgaiyūr, *AR* 1918-119, mid-16th century?
Koḍi Vaḍamalai Nāyaka, agent of Sūrappa Nāyaka, and the *nāṭṭavars* of Tenkarai (sīrmai) granted something to a deity of the Kūgaiyūr temple. The details of the gift are not given.

21. Kūgaiyūr, *AR* 1918-121, A.D. 1584.
A charity deed made by Kāḷappayyar, agent of Krishṇappa Nāyaka, the *nāṭṭavars* of Tenkarai-sīrmai and a person called Sūraya Vāṇḍayār. An irrigation tank (*tāṅgal*) was made and donated to the Kūgaiyūr temple for the merit of Kumārayyar.

22. Kūgaiyūr, *AR* 1918-124, A.D. 1500.
A Śiva temple in Kūgaiyūr sold a plot of land for 20 *paṇam* to a Vishṇu temple in the same town. Being instructed by the *nāṭṭavars*, Magadaināṭṭuvēḷān signed the document along with the representatives of both temples.

Analysis of data

The first thing we notice while examining the inscriptions of the upper valley is the sharp contrast between the content of the fifteenth century inscriptions and those of the sixteenth century. While all six inscriptions belonging to the fifteenth century record the proclamation of *nāyaka*s to the *nāṭṭavars* of Magadai-maṇḍalam or Tenkarai-sīrmai in it to the effect of diminishing the tax burden on the people, the sixteenth century inscriptions mostly record tax remissions or village/land grants in favour of some temples by *nāyaka*s and *nāṭṭavars*. The six inscriptions from the fifteenth century are ins. 13, 7, 5, 6, 4 and 10 in chronological order. Ins. 13 records the abolition of *kāṇikkai*, which is mentioned as the source of trouble in many inscriptions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Ins.

7 records the change of the measuring rod for the benefit of cultivators (*kuḍi*), ins. 5 and 6 the remission of certain taxes, including various *vartinai* (fees), and fixing the rates of certain taxes, and ins. 4 and 10 record the promise made by *nāyaka*s of ensuring justice in tax collection by government officers.

Subbarayalu and I have argued (Chapter 8 below) that the fourteenth century was the period when the people of Tamilnadu suffered greatly from successive invasions by foreign armies such as the Tughlaks' and Vijayanagars', their misrule, and the social conflict intensified by it, although there was the development of trade as well in some areas including South Arcot District. In 1429, the suffering of the people culminated in open revolt by the direct producers and merchants who organized themselves as Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai groups against the landlords and intruding Vijayanagar commanders who exacted heavy and arbitrary taxes from them. The fifteenth century, therefore, is a transitional period in which the Vijayanagar rulers had to find a better way of controlling their conquered territory. The six inscriptions in the upper valley of the Vellar river convey this situation very well: the suffering of the people and the response of the Vijayanagar intruders to the situation, as also the measures taken for better administration.

The efforts by Vijayanagar commanders in the fifteenth century to consolidate their power seem to have been successful, since we have few sixteenth-century inscriptions which record proclamations by rulers to the effect that they were granting concessions to the local people. Among the twenty-two upper-valley inscriptions examined here, there is no such inscription for the sixteenth century. Consolidation of power seems to have been related to the establishment of *nāyakkattanam*[5] by the Vijayanagar rulers. Among the upper-valley inscriptions other than those referred to here, there are five inscriptions which refer to *nāyakkattanam*s or the *sīrmai*s[6] granted to *nāyaka*s by the king.

Prior to the sixteenth century, the *nāyaka*s seem to have been the commanders of regiments stationed in certain places working together with, or having under them officers called *adikāri* for the administration of some larger territory. Sometimes, they themselves were *adikāri*s. In contrast to these large administrative territories which are variously called *maṇḍalam*, *rājiyam* or *uchāvaḍi*, the *nāyakkattanam* was a smaller territory granted to a *nāyaka* as an estate that he was permitted to manage himself. Although emergence

of the *nāyakkattanam* alone cannot be taken as proof of the consolidation of Vijayanagar rule, its establishment was an important step towards that consolidation.

Having been granted their own estates, the *nāyaka*s became more interested in controlling local production (Chapter 1 above). There is much evidence bearing this out, an instance of which is the appearance in the sixteenth century of many agents who worked for the *nāyaka*s, dealing with local affairs. For example, many agents took part in the deliberations and transactions of remitting taxes in favour of temples, or of granting villages/lands to temples. In some inscriptions it is recorded that a *nāyaka* or his agent played a part even in the assignment to priests of the right to conduct *pūjā*. Incidentally, ins. 2 shows that the *nāyaka*'s authority was superior to the *nāṭṭavar*'s in this matter.

In four inscriptions (3, 8, 12 and 17), the *nāṭṭavar*s, together with the *nāyaka*s or their associates, made some charity deed for the merit of some superior *nāyaka*. The *nāṭṭavar*s' fidelity to the *nāyaka*s is demonstrated in those cases where the former took the initiative in the charitable deed; even when inferior *nāyaka*s initiated the charity, the *nāṭṭavar*s' subservience is indicated since the *nāṭṭavar*s joined the inferior *nāyaka* in giving the merit of the charitable deed to the superior *nāyaka*.[7] It should be noted however, that *nāṭṭavar*s appear rather frequently in the inscriptions of this area, particularly those of Kūgaiyūr.

The establishment of *pēṭṭai* (markets) in certain places and the settlement of Kaikkōḷas (weavers) in the temple precincts, both of which are rather frequently recorded in the inscriptions, show the *nāyaka*s' eagerness to develop trade and industry in their own territory in order to increase their economic power.

Although the subordination of *nāṭṭavar*s to *nāyaka*s in the sixteenth century cannot be questioned, they are shown in these inscriptions as collaborators with the *nāyaka*s or their agents in controlling local affairs. The dispute in temple management was initially settled by the *nāṭṭavar*s, though it was finally arbitrated by the *nāyaka* in Āragaḷūr. *Nāṭṭavar*s seem to have had the right to impose certain taxes on the people of their locality.[8] Ins. 10 reveals that the *nāyaka* ruling the Kūgaiyūr area towards the end of the fifteenth century promised the *nāṭṭavar*s that he would observe the old custom and accept their decision on tax collection, including the regulation concerning forced labour. What was relinquished accordingly included

enforcement of the cultivation and pressing of sugar-cane in each village; from this we are able to discern that *nāṭṭavar*s had been in control of local production. Though there is no clear evidence for this in the inscriptions, they must have been the leading landholders, as we shall discuss later (Chapter 9). In that capacity, they occupied the key position in the political structure linking the *nāyaka*s and the common people of the locality. Viewed in this way, the frequent appearance of *nāṭṭavar*s in our inscriptions is rather significant of their strength in this region.

Middle Valley

Examination of inscriptions

23. Vālikaṇḍapuram, *AR* 1944-285, A.D. 1397.
A document given by the *nāṭṭavar*s of Vēmbār-nāḍu to an agent of Kattappa-uḍaiyar. All the people belonging to the four *jāti*s in the *nāḍu* were required to remove the silt accumulated in the tanks as part of their contribution of forced labour. The amount of labour was determined by the size and nature of their houses. People who did not provide labour to remove the silt had to pay the *nāṭṭavar*s one *paṇam* per *kuḻi* of silt.

24. Vālikaṇḍapuram, *AR* 1944-288, late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.
Kaikkōḷa-mudalis and Dēvaraḍiyārs in Vālikaṇḍapuram seem to have promised something to the authorities of the Vālikaṇḍapuram temple, Ilakshumapati Nāyaka and the *nāṭṭavar*s of Vēmbār-nāḍu. Many names of the Kaikkōḷa groups and the Dēvaraḍiyār group are given. Incomplete.

25. Vālikaṇḍapuram, *AR* 1944-312, A.D. 1491.
While Eramāñji Seṅgapaya Timmaiya Nāyaka was ruling, the *nāṭṭavar*s of Vēmbār-nāḍu (Vannāḍu) decided to burn 30 lamps in the Vālikaṇḍapuram temple, for which a certain amount of castor-oil seed was to be collected from all villages, including *agrahāra* villages. Big villages (*pērūr*) had to contribute two *tūṇi*s and small villages (*ciṟṟūr*) one *tūṇi*.

26. Vālikaṇḍapuram, *AR* 1944-313, A.D. 1644.
Paruvaḍayyar, agent of Kastūri Nāyaka who was himself an agent of Muttu Veṅkatappa Nāyaka, and the *nāṭṭavar*s decided to stop something concerning temple service since it became unnecessary.

It is not clear from the text, however, what became unnecessary and was stopped.

27. Āḍuturaai, *AR* 1913-25, A.D. 1405.
The *nāṭṭavar*s and *tandirimār*s (soldiers) of the four *paṟṟu*s of Paḷuvūr-paṟṟu, Ten-paṟṟu, Kuṉṟa-paṟṟu and Ukaḷūr-paṟṟu remitted taxes levied on the cultivators, merchants and artisans who lived in temple villages and temple precincts. The taxes include *kāṇikkai*, *nāṭṭu-viniyōgam*, *pāṭṭiṟai* (tax arrears), *pāḍāviri* (tax arrears) and others to be paid to the *nāṭṭavar*s and *vanniya-vari* (to be paid to the *tandirimār*s?).

28. Āḍuturaai, *AR* 1913-27, A.D. 1459.
The *nāṭṭavar*s of Vēmbār-nāḍu decided to remit all taxes (to be paid to them?) from a village which was a *dēvadāna* of Tirukkuraṅgāḍuturaai temple in order to make one offering of their own in the temple daily and also to build a *gōpura*.

29. Āḍuturaai, *AR* 1913-28, fifteenth century.
A chief called Ēkāmbaranātar and the *nāṭṭavar*s of 18-paṟṟu decided to increase the length of the measuring rod used in Ukāḷūr-paṟṟu by four 'feet' since it was shorter than the one used in the other *paṟṟu*s. The actual length of the rod was engraved on the basement of the Āḍuturaai temple.

30. Āḍuturaai, *AR* 1913-30, datable to A.D. 1429-37.
The *nāṭṭavar*s and *tandirimār*s of Viṭṭa-paṟṟu, one of 18 paṟṟu, decided to exempt a *dēvadāna-tirunāmattukkāṇi* village of the Āḍuturaai temple from all taxes, including those to be paid to the *nāṭṭavar*s and *vaṉṉiya-vari* for the purpose of conducting *pūjā*s and repairing the temple. Signatories include Chērakōn Kaṇḍiyadēvan.

31. Tiruvaḍatturai, *AR* 1929-211, A.D. 1463.
The *nāṭṭavar*s and *tandirimār*s of Karaippōkku-nāḍu in Iruṅgōḷappāḍi-naḍu decided to exempt a village of the Tirukkuraṅgāḍuturaai temple from all taxes to be paid to the *uchāvaḍi* for the purpose of conducting *pūjā*s and repairing the temple. Periyanāṭṭuvēḷān and the agent of Nāyanār Kachchirāyar, Irāmachandiradēva, signed the document.

32. Tiruvaḍatturai, *AR* 1929-212, A.D. 1493.
The *nāṭṭavar*s and *tandirimār*s of Karaippōkku-nāḍu in Iruṅgōḷappāḍi-naḍu fixed the rate of taxes to be levied on Kaikkōḷas (weavers), Sēnaikkaḍaiyars (betel-leaf sellers) and *pala-paṭṭaḍai-kuḍis*

(artisans and merchants) who would come and settle in the precincts of the Tiruvaratturai temple, and also in the streets of temple villages. The income from these taxes was to be spent on instituting a special service in the temple in the name of *periya-nāṭṭār*.[9]

33. Tiruvaḍatturai, *AR* 1929-215, A.D. 1443.
The *nāṭṭavar*s and *tandirimār*s of 18-parru decided to remit the taxes to be levied on the people (*kuḍi*) who would come and settle in the streets within the precincts of the four temples, two at Peṇṇāgaḍam, one at Tiruvaratturai and one at Tirumāṟanpāḍi. The taxes, including *nāṭṭu-kāṇikkai* and *nāṭṭu-viniyōgam*, were to be spent on the services in the temples instituted by *periya-nāṭṭār*. Kachchiyarāya Vēṇavuḍaiyān appears among the signatories.

34. Peṇṇāḍam, *AR* 1929-250, A.D. 1443.
The *nāṭṭavar*s of 18-parru permitted three temples in two villages in Karaippōkku-nāḍu to settle artisans and others in the streets within the temple precincts and decided to remit all the taxes to be levied on them including *nāṭṭu-kāṇikkai* and *nāṭṭu-viniyōgam* for the benefit of the temples. Periyanāṭṭuvēḷān[10] and Kachchiyarāya Vēṇavuḍaiyān signed the document.

35. Peṇṇāḍam, *AR* 1929-257, A.D. 1445.
The *nāṭṭavar*s and *tandirimār*s of Vaḍatuṇḍa-nāḍu decided to exempt a village of the Peṇṇāḍam temple from paying all the taxes due to the *nāṭṭavar*s, those due to Nāyanār Kachchirāyar except *samaiyappaḍi*,[11] and those due to the service tenure holders. The remitted amount was to be spent on conducting *pūjā*s and repairing the temple. Irāmachandira-dēvan, agent of Nāyanār Kachchirāyar, and Periyanāṭṭuvēḷān signed the document.

36. Peṇṇāḍam, *AR* 1929-261, A.D. 1455.
The *nāṭṭavar*s and *tandirimār*s of Karaippōkku-nāḍu decided to exempt a *dēvadāna* village of the Peṇṇāḍam temple from the taxes payable to the *uchāvaḍi*, those due to the chief Kachchirāyar inclusive of *mallayam*,[12] but excluding *samayappaḍi*, and those due to the service tenure holders. The remitted amount was to be spent on conducting *pūjā* and repairing the temple. The end of the lines is built over.

37. Peṇṇāḍam, *AR* 1929-263, A.D. 1439.
The *nāṭṭavar*s and *tandirimār*s of Karaippōkku-nāḍu seem to have remitted the taxes on artisans and merchants including Kaikkōḷas, Vāṇiyars and Sēnaikkuḍaiyars who settled in the precincts of a temple. The latter half of the text is defaced.

38. Peṇṇāḍam, *AR* 1929-267, A.D. 1554.
Ellappa Nāyaka, Pechcharasar, *kaḍaikkūṭṭu*[13] Vāchcharasarayan, a *maṭādipati* (head of a *maṭha*) and the *nāṭṭavar*s of 17-paṟṟu exempted the Peṇṇāḍam temple from all taxes inclusive of *kaḍaikkūṭṭu-ilakkai* and *kaḍaikkūṭṭu-vattinai*[14] for the merit of Marasayan, son of Kōnēti Mahārāja.

39. Peṇṇāḍam, *AR* 1929-269, A.D. 1546.
Vaṅgaram Vāṇādarāyar Mēykkum Perumāḷ, agent of Kōnēri Timmarājarayyan, the *nāṭṭavar*s of 17-paṟṟu and a person called Aḻagiya Nāyinār granted the income accruing as *āyam*[15] and *sammādu* (obligatory presents) from 17-paṟṟu *alias* Paḷḷikoṇḍapaṭṭana-sīrmai to the Tirupati temple for the merit of Kōnēri Timmarājarayyan.

40. Vriddhāchalam, *AR* 1918-91, A.D. 1429.
The Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai groups consisting of the *nāṭṭavar*s of Iruṅgōḷappāḍi-naḍu, *ūravar*s of Eṟumbūr and other *paṟṟu*s, *nānādēśi-padineṇ-viśayam*,[16] Kaikkōḷa-Tandirimār, Sēnaikkaḍaiyar, Manṟāḍi, Kaṇmāḷas and others of *āṟuvagai-kuḍimakkaḷ* and Vāṇiyar, assembled in the temple of Vriddhāchalam (?) and fixed for each of their members the dues for instituting the *periyanāṭṭār* service in the temple.[17]

41. Srīmushṇam, *AR* 1916-230, A.D. 1443.
The *nāṭṭavar*s and *tandirimār*s of 18-paṟṟu decided to invite artisans and merchants (*palakuḍi* and *palappaṭṭaḍai*) to settle in the streets surrounding the temple of Tirumuṭṭam in Iruṅgōḷappāḍi-naḍu, remitting the taxes to be levied on them in order to conduct the *periyanāṭṭār* service in the temple. Kachchiyarāya Vēṇāvuḍaiyār also signed the document.

42. Srīmushṇam, *AR* 1916-263, A.D. 1583.
Koṇḍama Nāyaka and the *nāṭṭavar*s of 18-paṟṟu and Paṭṭana sīrmai granted two villages in Buvanēkavīranpaṭṭaṇa (*sīrmai*) to *rāyasam*[18] Veṅkaṭarāyar, son of an officer of Koṇḍama Nāyaka, who in turn granted these two villages to the Srīmushṇam temple. No mention of taxes.

43. Srīmushṇam, *AR* 1916-265, A.D. 1582.
Rāyasam Veṅkaṭarāyar, son of an officer of Koṇḍama Nāyaka, granted a village in Kuṟichi-paṟṟu in 17-paṟṟu to the Tirumuṭṭam temple, and the *nāṭṭavar*s of 17-paṟṟu seem to have executed this charity deed.

Analysis of data

Out of the 21 inscriptions introduced above, three Vālikaṇḍapuram inscriptions and one Āḍuturai inscription concern Vēmbār-nāḍu, and most of the remaining inscriptions of various places concern 18-paṟṟu (17-paṟṟu) or Iruṅgōḷapāḍi. Vēmbār-nāḍu in the west, also called Van-nāḍu, is given in some inscriptions as having been detached from Magadai-maṇḍalam. In the east, 18-paṟṟu, otherwise known as Iruṅgōḷappāḍi, is a vast area extending along both banks of the middle part of the Vellar, consisting of eighteen different *paṟṟus*. In sixteenth-century inscriptions, however, we find only the term '17-paṟṟu' for this area, not '18-paṟṟu', which indicates the elimination of one *paṟṟu* in the sixteenth century. Karaippōkku-nāḍu is one of the *paṟṟus* and extends in a narrow strip along the river from Peṇṇāḍam to Tiruvaḍatturai.

These inscriptions clearly indicate the association of *nāṭṭavars* with the *tandirimārs*. Of the 11 inscriptions of the fifteenth century from 18-paṟṟu in which *nāṭṭavars* appear, 9 record various transactions made by the *nāṭṭavars* together with the *tandirimārs*.[19] *'Tandirimār'* which means soldier, is identical with 'Paḷḷi', the name of a people who came down to this region from the Pachchai and other western hills in the Chola period.[20] In the inscriptions, however, the term *tandirimār* seems to have been used specifically for the leading representatives of the Vaṉṉiya community, indicating their status.

Another thing we notice is the absence of Vijayanagar *nāyakas*. In many inscriptions in which *nāṭṭavars* and *tandirimārs* figure, Kachchirāyars or their agents also appear. From ins. 35 and 36, which mention the taxes payable to the Kachchirāyar, it is clear that the Kachchirāyar was ruling this area as the local chief. Kachchirāyars were, however, not independent of the Vijayanagar kings. In ins. 36, the dues payable to the Kachchirāyar appear together with those payable to the government (*uchāvaḍi*) in different categories of taxes remitted by the *nāṭṭavars* and *tandirimārs* of Karaippōkku-nāḍu.[21] In some inscriptions, the Kachchirāyars held the title *nāyanār*, the Tamil form of *nāyaka*.

It is of interest that both *tandirimārs* and Kachchirāyars appear only in inscriptions in the 18-paṟṟu and that too, only in the fifteenth century. An agent of Nāyanār Kachchirāyar signed ins. 35 which records that the dues payable to the Kachchirāyars from a village were remitted by the *nāṭṭavars* and *tandirimārs*. Likewise in ins. 41, recording a similar transaction made by the *nāṭṭavars* and *tandirimārs*,

a Kachchirāyar signed the document. It is, therefore, highly likely that the *tandirimār*s and Kachchirāyars were related, with the Kachchirāyars being the chiefs of the *tandirimār*s or Vaṉṉiyas. This is further supported by the fact that neither *tandirimār*s nor Kachchirāyars appear in sixteenth-century inscriptions.

Though the number of sixteenth-century inscriptions from this region is not large, they do yield the names of some Telugu or Kannaḍiga *nāyaka*s but not of any local Tamil chiefs or Kachchirāyars. In the two Peṇṇāḍam inscriptions (38 and 39) of the mid-sixteenth century, Ellappa Nāyaka and an agent of Kōnēri Timmarāja respectively are the persons who made a charity deed, and in two Srīmushṇam inscriptions (42 and 43) of the end of the sixteenth century, Koṇḍama Nāyaka and one of his officers are the donors. Kōnēri Timmarāja seems to have belonged to an influential family of *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* who were sent to the Tiruchirāpaḷḷi region from Vijayanagar (Chapter 3 below) and Koṇḍama Nāyaka is a member of the Gingee Nāyakas who are also known to have come from Vijayanagar.[22]

Again, what clearly emerges here is the contrast between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the consolidation of Vijayanagar rule in the sixteenth century. The contrast is more striking in this region than in Magadai-maṇḍalam, as here we see the change in local rule from Tamil chiefs to the intruding Kannaḍiga *nāyaka*s. The Kachchirāyars, who were powerful in the fifteenth century, were deprived of their political power by the Vijayanagar commanders and seem to have been downgraded and absorbed in the social stratum represented by the *nāṭṭavar*s.[23]

The situation in Vēmbār-nāḍu has some affinity with that of Magadai-maṇḍalam in the upper Vellar valley. In ins. 23, 25 and 24, which belong to the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries respectively, Kannaḍiga or Telugu *nāyaka*s appear as the rulers of this region. A Vālikaṇḍapuram inscription of the fifteenth century (*AR* 1943/44-278, A.D. 1416), in which *nāṭṭavar*s do not appear, records the tax remission given by a high-ranking Vijayanagar officer in favour of the artisans and merchants of Vēmbār-nādu.

Another aspect to be considered in relation to the middle Vellar valley comprising 18-paṟṟu and Vēmbār-nāḍu is the fact that it is the central region of the Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai groups, the direct producers and merchants who rose in open revolt in 1429 against the landholders (*kāṇiyāḷar*) and government (*irājagarattār*) who oppressed them (see Chapter 8 below). The revolt was a success

in that the people of the Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai groups displayed unity in their uprising, and had the landholders' support in the subsequent movement, though the people do not seem to have had all the burdens lifted.

The inscriptions which record the revolt mention the Vaṉṉiyas (the *tandirimār*s were probably their representatives) along with the *irājagarattār* who oppressed both *kāṇiyāḷar* (landholders) and Valaṅgai/Iḍaṅgai groups. It is known from thirteenth-century Chola inscriptions that Vaṉṉiyas as military people took over the *kāṇiyāṭchi* (proprietory right) of many villages by purchase or other means even in the region south of the river Kollidam.[24] They must have risen to become local leaders in the anarchy prevailing in the fourteenth century and, with the advent of the Vijayanagar armies into their region, they seem to have become the followers of these invaders. Working under the Vijayanagar commanders, they seem to have oppressed the people through their exploitative tax collection, which caused the outbreak of the 1429 open revolt by the people of the Valaṅgai/Iḍaṅgai groups who suffered the most.

All the fifteenth-century inscriptions in which the *nāṭṭavar*s and *tandirimār*s are associated come from the period during or after the revolt by the Valaṅgai/Iḍaṅgai groups (ins. 30 – 37, 40 and 41). All these record remissions or contributions by *nāṭṭavar*s and *tandirimār*s for the purpose of conducting *pūjā*s in a temple or repairing a temple. In four of them (ins. 32, 33, 40 and 41), the *pūjā* to be conducted is mentioned as *periyanāṭṭār-pūjā*. In ins. 40, Valaṅgai/Iḍaṅgai groups, including *nāṭṭavar*s, *ūravar*s, *nānādēśi-padineṇ-viśayam*, Kaikkōḷas, Tandirimārs, etc., resolved in their assembly to make each community belonging to the region contribute a certain amount for instituting a *periyanāṭṭār* service in a temple. Since the *periyanāḍu* organization covered a large area and also comprised artisans and merchants, these inscriptions which show the *tandirimār*s joining the *nāṭṭavar*s to promote *periyanāḍu* activities indicate that the former oppressors of the people were now attempting to pacify them and retain their power by stressing their solidarity with other groups.

Here, it is significant that the *tandirimār*s only appear in conjunction with the *nāṭṭavar*s whose power must have been rooted more deeply in the locality. Such efforts by the *tandirimār*s or Vaṉṉiyas to retain their hegemony by stressing solidarity with other groups, however, appear to have been hampered by the strategy of the Vijayanagar

*nāyaka*s who started to control the locality through their Telugu or Kannaḍiga agents, and also to draw the artisans and merchants into their own camp from which the *tandirimār*s were excluded.

The increasing power of the Kaṇmāḷa community with the support of Vijayanagar *nāyaka*s as revealed in five inscriptions datable to A.D. 1572/3 of the adjacent region, may well be taken as indicating the above process (see Chapter 9 below). While the *nāṭṭavar*s swore to the king, the *nāyaka*s and their officers that they would give certain privileges to the Kaṇmāḷas, the *tandirimār*s as an independent body do not figure at all in these inscriptions. The *tandirimār*s disappeared from the political arena of this region in the latter half of the fifteenth century, and seem to have been pushed back to the level of ordinary landholders or in some cases transformed into *nāṭṭavar*s as stated before. After the disappearance of the *tandirimār*s we have no reference in the inscriptions to the *periyanāṭṭār*s either.

*Nāṭṭavar*s do appear in the sixteenth-century inscriptions of this region, but much less frequently than in the previous century. However, this may partially be due to the fact that there are fewer extant inscriptions from the sixteenth century, except in the case of Srīmushṇam which has an almost equal number of inscriptions from both periods. In Vālikaṇḍapuram we have two inscriptions from the seventeenth century, in one of which *nāṭṭavar*s appear. In Āḍuturai, Tiruvaḍatturai and Vriddhāchalam we have none for either the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and in Peṇṇāḍam two inscriptions of the sixteenth century, in both of which *nāṭṭavar*s figure. Of the 9 Srīmushṇam inscriptions, only 2 refer to *nāṭṭavar*s. Thus, we have only 5 inscriptions which refer to *nāṭṭavar*s for the sixteenth century and after, in contrast to 15 such inscriptions for the previous century, which may indicate that the *nāṭṭavar*s were losing political power in the middle Vellar valley during the later period. Some *nāṭṭavar*s, however, continued to function as the local link between the higher authority and the common people in the village, as was the case in the upper valley and other areas.[25]

Conclusion

Our inscriptions thus provide clear evidence of the changes taking place under Vijayanagar rule in Tamilnadu during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, moving towards its consolidation in the latter century. In the upper Vellar valley the *nāyaka*s or other invading

Vijayanagar soldiers must have oppressed and exploited the people through heavy and arbitrary taxation during the fifteenth century. All the six inscriptions of that time record the discontent of the people under this misrule and the concessions some *nāyaka*s gave to the people. While the *nāyaka*s were trying to rule the territory, the *nāṭṭavar*s were in the forefront of the people's struggle, requesting them to reduce their tax burden. The fifteenth-century inscriptions of this region reveal the tension existing between the Vijayanagar rulers and the *nāṭṭavar*s.

On the other hand, in sixteenth-century inscriptions *nāyaka*s and *nāṭṭavar*s are seen collaborating in many local affairs such as granting land to temples or remitting taxes in favour of temples. At the start of the sixteenth century *nāyakkattanam*s (estates bestowed on *nāyaka*s by the Vijayanagar king) started to appear in inscriptions. *Pēṭṭai*s (markets) were also established in many places in the upper valley. All these show the consolidation of Vijayanagar rule through *nāyaka*s in the upper valley.

In the middle valley, consolidation was achieved in the sixteenth century through Kannaḍiga or Telugu *nāyaka*s becoming local rulers in place of the earlier Tamil chiefs who led *tandirimār*s. Although the *tandirimār*s exerted themselves to retain their power under the new regime by stressing their association with the *nāṭṭavar*s and also with the *periyanāḍu* organization, they seem to have been excluded from the camp of the new rulers who controlled the locality, employing many Kannaḍiga or Telugu agents. Artisans, whose power increased during these centuries, seem to have been incorporated into the production system controlled by the *nāyaka*s, having been detached from the *periyanāṭṭār* organization maintained chiefly by the *tandirimār*s and *nāṭṭavar*s. This indicates the consolidation of Vijayanagar rule in the middle valley of the Vellar river by the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The second question, namely what role the *nāṭṭavar*s played under Vijayanagar rule in Tamilnadu and what position they occupied in the local production system, is not easy to answer. In the area adjacent to the northern Vellar valley, we have five inscriptions which record the granting of certain privileges to the Kaṇmāḷa community by the *nāṭṭavar*s of several localities, to which a reference has already been made. In these inscriptions, the names of the *nāṭṭavar*s of each locality (*paṟṟu*) are given, and the number of those names varies from one to seven.[26] They include members of various communities such as

Piḷḷai, Mudali, Reḍḍi, Vaṉṉiya, etc. and also Kachchirāyars. Some of them have the title *arayan* and some others are designated as *nāyaka*s (*nāyanār*). *Arayan* was a title taken by many big landholders in the later Chola period. Many Reḍḍis are found among the big landholders whose names are recorded in the British revenue documents of this area in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[27] Though we do not have any other clear evidence, we may say from the above that the *nāṭṭavar*s were mainly representatives of the big landholders (*kāṇiyāḷar*) of the locality.

The *nāṭṭavar*s are also known from the inscriptions to have collected certain dues such as *nāṭṭu-kāṇikkai* and *nāṭṭu-viniyōgam* from various communities for their local administration. According to the five inscriptions concernings the Kaṇmāḷas, their distress was due to the imposition of some tributes on them by the *nāṭṭavar*s. A Vālikaṇḍapuram inscription (ins. 23) of the fifteenth century states that the the *nāṭṭavar*s imposed forced labour on all the people of their locality, and reported this to the higher authority. The *nāṭṭavar*s in the upper valley in the fifteenth century, however, are known to have defended themselves from the exactions of Vijayanagar commanders and soldiers. The *nāṭṭavar*s of that area were successful in having the *nāyaka*s accept their practice of controlling local production. We also know from sixteenth-century inscriptions of the same locality and from inscriptions in other localities as well, that they collaborated with local rulers (*nāyaka*s or chiefs) in granting lands or tax remissions to temples. Judging from this, they must have been the actual controllers of local production, having under them small landholders, cultivators, and perhaps artisans and merchants also, and providing a link with local rulers such as *nāyaka*s, or chiefs like the Kachchirāyar

It should be noted here, however, that the position of the *nāṭṭavar*s seems to have become precarious in the course of the sixteenth century in the middle valley of the Vellar river, though they remained securely established in the upper valley. We should also note here that it is in the South Arcot District inscriptions that the *nāṭṭavar*s figure the most, though references to them decrease in the sixteenth century. There are no references to the taxes collected by *nāṭṭavar*s such as *nāṭṭu-viniyōgam*, *nāṭṭu-kāṇikkai* and *nāṭṭāyam* in Tamilnadu, including South Arcot District, from the latter half of the sixteenth century,[28] which also may indicate the decline in their position. This situation must have been related to the consolidation of *nāyaka* rule

in most parts of the region, as the *nāyaka*s started to administer their territory employing their own agents by the beginning of the sixteenth century.

During the Vijayanagar period, the importance of the *nāḍu* as the territorial unit for local production seems to have decreased in many localities for some reason. Establishment of a new trade centre (*pēṭṭai*), might have been the cause,[29] or the re-organization of the local production system after the establishment of the *nāyakkattanam*s. Although the term *nāṭṭavar*s (literally, people of the *nāḍu*) continued to be used, the actual unit of local administration shifted from the *nāḍu* to the area called *paṟṟu* in many localities during the Vijayanagar period. As will be understood by the change from '18-paṟṟu' to '17 paṟṟu' in the sixteenth century, there was also a frequent organizational change of these units. The fact that the number of *nāṭṭavar*s of one *paṟṟu* varies from one to seven in the five inscriptions referred to above may indicate the appearance of very big landholders who might have controlled more than one *nāḍu* or *paṟṟu*, becoming the agents of a certain *nāyaka*. In that event, the original character of the *nāṭṭavar*s as a corporate body of landholders in a locality must have been lost,[30] even if the name was retained for some time.[31] Problems relating to the *nāṭṭavar*, particularly their method of controlling local production and the reason for their irregular appearance in space and time in Tamil inscriptions during and after the Vijayanagar period, needs to be studied further.[32]

NOTES

1. *Nāttavar*s or *nāttār*s means literally the people of a territory called *nāḍu*, but its inscriptional usage indicates usually only influential representatives of them.
2. N. Karashima, 'The Kaṇmāḷas of the 16th Century in South Arcot District in South India', *Indian History and Epigraphy: Dr G. S. Gai Felicitation Volume*, K. V. Ramesh *et al* (ed.), Delhi, 1990. See Chapter 9 below.
3. *Nāṭṭuvēḷān* is the title of the chief representative or secretary of the *nāṭṭavar*s.
4. Although the inscriptions of Vriddhāchalam and Srīmushṇam concern the lower valley also, in this study the term 'middle valley' is employed since the inscriptions of Chidambaram and other towns in the lower valley are

excluded from examination.

5. *Nāyakkattanam* is territory that the king allowed the *nāyaka*s to rule themselves. The historical implications of its appearance is discussed in Chapter 1 above.
6. *Sīrmai* or *simai* is an administrative territorial unit introduced in the Tamil country under Vijayanagar rule. Sometimes it is also applied to a territory composed of several detached estates.
7. The giving of merit (*puṇṇiyam* or *danmam*) by an inferior to a superior through charities may be a way of expressing the former's fidelity to the latter. This point has been discussed in Chapter 1 above.
8. There are certain taxes which *nāṭṭavar*s were able to remit without referring to the higher authority. They are *nāṭṭāyam*, *nāṭṭu-viniyōgam*, *nāṭṭu-kāṇikkai* etc. See Appendix 2 below.
9. *Periyanāḍu*, literally a big *nāḍu*, was a supra-local organization covering a large area and comprising the people of various professions. *Periyanāṭṭār* were the people or representatives of that organization.
10. *Periyanāṭṭuvēḷān* was a title held by the chief representative or secretary of the *periyanāḍu* organization.
11. *Samayappaḍi* was a contribution fixed at the community assembly.
12. The meaning of this is not clear, but it seems to denote a contribution.
13. *Kaḍaikkūṭṭu* was the name of an office, the function of which is not clear.
14. *Kaḍaikkūṭṭu-ilakkai* is a provision for lodging (*ilakkai*) of the *kaḍaikkūṭṭu* officer; *kaḍaikkūṭṭu-vattinai* is fee (*vattinai*) for the *kaḍaikkūṭṭu* officer.
15. *Āyam* was a general term for commercial tax.
16. *Nānādēśi-padineṇ-viśayam* was the term for a group of itinerant merchants who travelled through many provinces.
17. This inscription is dated about four months later than that which records the uprising of the people of the Valaṅgai/Iḍaṅgai groups in 1429.
18. *Rāyasam*, lit. writer, was a secretary to the king or a high-ranking official.
19. If we include ins. 40, where both *nāṭṭavar*s and *tandirimār*s also appear, although the way of their appearance differs from that in the other inscriptions, the number of cases will amount to ten.
20. There is a Pandyan inscription (*AR* 1913-35) recording a resolution in an assembly of the Paḷḷis who lived in the area described as 'west of the big reservoir (*ēri*) of Vīranārāyaṇan, east of the Pachchaimalai hills, north of the Kaveri river, and south of the Pennai river,' 18-parru corresponds to the central part of this vast area.
21. While ins. 36 categorizes the dues to be exempted by the *nāṭṭavar*s and *tandirimār*s into the following three groups which were payable respectively to (1) the government (*uchāvaḍi*), (2) Kachchirāyars, and (3) the service tenure holders, ins. 35 enumerates the following three groups of dues payable to (1) the *nāṭṭavar*s, (2) Kachchirāyars, and (3) the service tenure holders. Since the dues payable to the Kachchirāyars are juxtaposed with the dues payable to the *nāṭṭavar*s and service tenure holders, they could not have been taxes levied by any political power independent of the Vijayanagar

kings. Moreover, the reference to a Vijayanagar king in the date portion indicates that the political authority recognized in this locality at that time was the Vijayanagar king. Yet the fact remains that Kachchirāyars had a right to enjoy certain dues from this locality, which shows that the Kachchirāyars were petty local chiefs supported by the *tandirimār* or Vaṉṉiyas.

22. C. S. Srinivasachari, *A History of Ginjee and Its Rulers*, Annamalainagar, 1943, p. 80 ff.
23. We find the name Kachchirāyars in two lists of the names of *nāṭṭavars* given in the inscriptions examined in Chapter 9 below.
24. Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, p. 29 ff.
25. The best example of this role of a local link assumed by the *nāṭṭavars* is seen in the aforesaid five Kaṇmāḷa inscriptions.
26. *Ibid.*
27. T. Mizushima, *Nāṭṭār and the Socio-economic Change in South India in the 18th-19th Centuries*, Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo, 1986.
28. For the period A.D. 1301–1550 we have 45 Tamil inscriptions which refer to the taxes collected by *nāṭṭavars* such as *nāṭṭu-viniyōgam*, *nāṭṭu-kāṇikkai* and *nāṭṭāyam*, but their regional distribution is uneven. Vaḷudilampaṭṭu uchāvaḍi, corresponding roughly to the present South Arcot District, and the northern part of Tiruchirapalli District yield 24, while Paḍaivīdu-uchāvaḍi, corresponding roughly to North Arcot District and the southern part of Chingleput District 12, Chandragiri-uchāvaḍi, corresponding roughly to Chittoor District and the northern part of Chingleput District 1, and Tiruchirāpaḷḷi and Tiruvārūr-uchāvaḍis, which as a whole corresponds to Tiruchirāpaḷḷi District without its northern part and Thanjavur District, 4. This distribution pattern suggests that the *nāṭṭavars* in South Arcot District were most deeply involved in revenue administration. See Appendix 1-4-h.
29. P. Shanmugam, 'Pattadai and Industries in the Tamil Country under the Vijayanagar Rule' *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, ILCAA, no. 37 (1989), pp. 31–50.
30. While all the *nāṭṭavars* or *nāṭṭārs* in the Chola inscriptions seem to have been Veḷḷāḷa landholders, those in the Vijayanagar inscriptions included the members of several different communities of landholders and seem also to have included members of communities other than landholders, namely merchants, artisans, etc., though the point is debatable.
31. The name *nāṭṭavar* or *nāṭṭār* continued in use until the 19th century and is prevalent even today in many parts of South Arcot District and its adjacent districts. See Mizushima, *Nāṭṭār and the Socio-economic Change*.
32. For an elucidation of these points, studies on the *mirasidars* and *poligars* should also be made.

CHAPTER 3

CHANGES IN VIJAYANAGAR RULE IN THE LOWER KAVERI VALLEY

The changes in the nature of Vijayanagar rule which emerged in the northern districts of Tamilnadu between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries can be confirmed from Vijayanagar inscriptions in the lower Kaveri valley also.

We shall first examine the entire collection of Vijayanagar inscriptions of the Srirangam temple, the famous Vaishṇava centre on an islet in the Kaveri river just north of Tiruchirapalli city, and analyse the status of donors of land/villages to the temple and the persons who exempted the temple from taxes. The temple has 256 Vijayanagar inscriptions,[1] roughly half of which are concerned with land/village donation or tax remission, and most of which date to the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. Later, a comparative study of two groups of high-ranking officers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries will include inscriptions other than those from the Srirangam temple.

There are 122 Srirangam inscriptions recording either a land/village grant or a tax remission or both, excluding badly damaged ones and duplicates in different languages. Of these, 4 belong to the fourteenth century, 29 to the fifteenth century, 49 to the first half of the sixteenth century, 26 to the second half of the sixteenth century and 5 to the seventeenth century.

The first point to emerge is that the king appears as the grantor of villages or tax remissions more frequently in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries than in the later period. If Kampaṇa is also regarded as king,[2] 2 of the 4 fourteenth-century inscriptions record the grant of villages by the king. Of the 29 fifteenth-century inscriptions, the king appears in 4 as the grantor of villages or tax remissions. Although there is a larger number of sixteenth-century inscriptions, the frequency of grants by the king decreases substantially. Only 3 of the 75 inscriptions of the sixteenth century record royal grants of villages or tax remissions, though another 3 record the king's consent to requests by some officers for permission to make grants of villages or tax remissions to some temples. Moreover, the 3 which record royal grants belong to the first half

of the sixteenth century. For the seventeenth century, we have no cases of grants by the king.

Another phenomenon which may be related to the above is the disappearance of grants by a *pradhāni* or *mantri* (both meaning minister) of the king in the sixteenth century, while during the earlier period there are 4 cases of land/village grants being made by them.

This appears to indicate that some change took place in the rule of the Vijayanagar kings towards the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Secondly, sixteenth-century inscriptions begin to refer to *nāyakkattanam*. The *nāyakkattanam* is a clearly defined territory bestowed by the king on *nāyaka*s for their own management. It is reported by Nuniz and Paes, who visited Vijayanagar during the first half of the sixteenth century, that the *nāyaka*s in return had to provide armed contingents for the king in his campaigns or to subdue rebels.[3] In the inscriptions *nāyakkattanam*s are often referred to as my *nāyakkattanam* or *nāyakkattanam* bestowed on me by king so and so. There are three such cases in the Srirangam inscriptions. While in no. 449 of the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XXIV, only the phrase as the *nāyakkattanam* of Tirumalaidēvamāharāja appears, owing to the stone being damaged, no. 453 states that Chikka Timmadēva-maharaja donated the income of six villages in the *nāyakkattanam* bestowed on him by Sadāsivarāya (the king). No. 454 records that Viṭṭhaladēva-mahārāja granted the income of a village and remitted a certain tax from two villages, which were all in the *nāyakkattanam* bestowed on him by Sadāsivarāya. Chikka Timma's *nāyakkattanam* is mentioned in Viḻuttanaṇḍalai-sīrmai; exact identification of this territory is rather difficult. Viṭṭhala's territory seems to have been either Maḻai-nāḍu or its subdivision, Pāchchil-kūṟṟam.[4]

The granting of territory to *nāyaka*s, which seems to have started in Tamilnadu towards the end of the fifteenth century, was a turning point in Vijayanagar rule (see Chapter 1 above).

The third noticeable point is that while in the fifteenth century donations appear to have been made by a family for only one generation, many of those in the sixteenth century continue for more than two generations, being recorded in inscriptions belonging to different generations of a family. Among the donors mentioned in the 122 inscriptions, there are several who hold important titles as a part of their names and appear more than once in inscriptions.

We are thus often able to ascertain genealogies also. We have such cases even for the fifteenth century. For example, Ilakkaṇa-uḍaiyār who donated six *vēli* of land is described as a son of Annadāta Daṇṇāyakar in no. 327. However, Annadāta does not appear in any inscription in his own capacity, namely, as a person who did something for the temple.

Of the many families who are mentioned as donors over two or more generations in the sixteenth-century inscriptions, a typical one came to be known later as the Madurai Nāyakas. Early references to members of this family as donors of land/villages to the Srirangam temple include (1) Tirumalai Nāyaka, son of Visvanātha, who is regarded as the founder of the Madurai Nāyakaship; (2) Krishṇappa Nāyaka, grandson of Viśvanātha; (3) another Krishṇappa Nāyaka, great-grandson of Visvanātha; and (4) Chokkanātha Nāyaka who is in the eighth generation counting from Viśvanātha.[5] Another good example may be a Brāhmaṇa family of Atrēya-gōtra, Apastamba-sūtra, Yajuś-śākhā and Sōma-kula, many members of which appear as donors in Srirangam and other inscriptions. There are more instances of families with only two generation of recorded donations in the Srirangam inscriptions.

This is indicative of the growth of locally-powerful lineages of invading Vijayanagar commanders and administrators in the middle part of Tamilnadu during the sixteenth century,[6] while there was a declining involvement of the king and his ministers in the granting of land/villages and the remission of taxes. We shall next examine the activities of two similar groups of high-ranking officers belonging to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the fifteenth century, let us look at three individual officers stationed at the Tiruchirāpaḷḷi area. They are Periya Sirupparasar appearing in a Tēvūr inscription (*SII*, XVII, 562, A.D. 1426) in Thanjavur District, Chauḍappa in no. 309 (no date) and Siruparasara Viṭṭhaṇa in no. 335 (A.D. 1447).

No. 335 records that Siruparasara Viṭṭhaṇa, who is known as the minister (*mantri*) of the Vijayanagar king, remitted the taxes of four villages in Tiruvārūr-uchāvaḍi[7] and Tiruchirāpaḷḷi-uchāvaḍi[8] to make food offerings to the deity of the Srirangam temple in the names of several important personages including Hiriya (Periya) Siruparasar and himself. The extent of those villages and the amount of tax accruing from them are also given. He is described as 'Siruparasara Viṭṭhaṇa of Tiruchirāpaḷḷi-chāvaḍi' (*tiruchirāpaḷḷi-chāvaḍiya-siruparasara-viṭṭhaṇagaḷ*) and there is no doubt that he was in charge of

Vijayanagar administration in Chōḷamaṇḍalam which comprised Tiruvārūr and Tiruchirāpaḷḷi *uchāvaḍi*s. He is also known to belong to the Brāhmaṇa community.[9]

Although Chauḍappa's inscription has no date, the ruling king mentioned is Dēvarāya II, and it can therefore be placed chronologically between the inscription of Siruparasara Viṭṭhaṇa (1447) and that of Periya Sirupparasar (1426).[10] It records the king's order (*nirupa*) to Chauḍappa to the effect that a village and some lands in another village should be granted to Uttama-Nambi, a famous *sthānika* of the Srirangam temple, exempting them from taxes. Some other privileges were also given to this *sthānika*. In this inscription Chauḍappa is also described as 'Chauḍappa of Tiruchirāpaḷḷi', and Hiriya (Periya) Siruparasar is incidentally referred to as his predecessor,[11] though no designation is given for either of them.

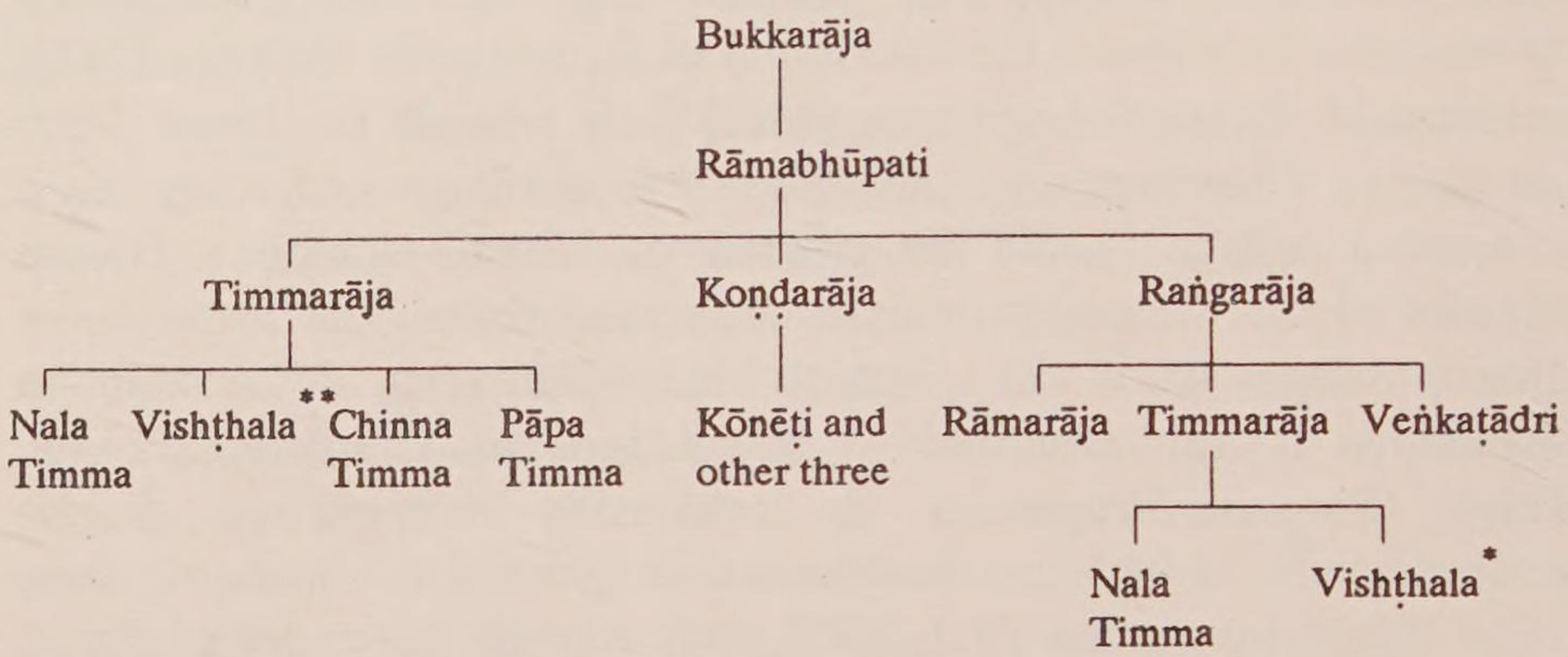
The Tēvūr inscription (*SII*, XVII, 562) records the order of Periya (Hiriya) Siruparasar to the *nāṭṭavars*[12] of Tiruvārūr-uchāvaḍi. The inscription describes the trouble caused to the people of that region by the unjust imposition of a poll tax (*mallāyi-avvaiyār-maganmai*) and the farming out (*kuttagai*) of estates for tax collection by officials (*adikāri*), and though the inscription is incomplete, its purpose seems to be to record the measure taken by the higher government authorities to protect the people from the *adikāri*s (see Chapter 8 below). Although Periya Sirupparasar's designation is not given in this inscription, we can presume from its contents and also from the reference to his name in the previous two inscriptions of the Srirangam temple, that he was in charge of the administration of Chōḷamaṇḍalam at the time of the Tēvūr inscription.

What picture do these inscriptions give us of these three high-ranking officers? They received orders from the king. They took steps to help the people of the vast region attain a better life. They had the power to remit taxes, and yet they seem to have been transferred frequently to some other post or area. In 1426 Periya Sirupparasar was in charge, in 1447 Siruparasara Viṭṭhana, and in between Chauḍappa. They are, therefore, none other than senior administrators who worked for the state.

The sixteenth-century example of a high-ranking officer is a *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* family of Ātrēya-gōtra, Āpastamba-sūtra, Yajuś-śākhā and Sōma-kula, mentioned above.[13]

In Srirangam temple there are ten inscriptions which record land/village grants by members of this Brāhmaṇa family. Four more

inscriptions concerning them are found elsewhere. Their genealogy is given in one of the Srirangam inscriptions (no. 455 in Sanskrit), which is given below:



It is stated in no. 455 that Viṭṭhala(Vishṭhala)-dēva-mahārāja (marked with one asterisk above) was sent by his uncle Chinna Timma to subdue the troublemakers in the south, and having restored order in the region, Viṭṭhala revived the services in the temple. No. 453 records the grant by Chikka (Chinna) Timmadēva-mahārāja of six villages in his *nāyakkattanam*, the location of which cannot be identified. All the six villages are described with their area and income, and it is stipulated that the total income of these villages should be spent for services in the temple. No. 454 records that Viṭṭhaladēva-mahārāja, son of Timmayadēva- mahārāja,[14] granted the income of a village and remitted *nīrāṇikkam* (dues for water distribution?) on two villages for the benefit of the temple. All the villages were in his *nāyakkattanam* on the northern bank of the Kaveri. The rate of revenue is also mentioned.

Nos. 459, 474 and 489 record similar grants of the income accruing from some villages and lands in Tiruchirapalli and Thanjavur Districts by Viṭṭhala, Rāmarāja and Tirumalai[15] respectively, though no mention is made of their *nāyakkattanam*s. Nos. 476 and 483 record that Kōnēṭi Obaḷa granted plots of land in Thanjavur and Tiruchirapalli Districts to the temple after having purchased them; no. 475 also records a similar grant made by Krishṇamman, wife of Timmarāja of the same family. She donated a village in Tiruchirapalli District and four *vēli* of land in a village in Thanjavur District. It is also known from the inscription that she owned a

maṇḍapam in a temple village in the present Tiruchirapalli city. No. 460 reveals a somewhat different aspect of their activity. In response to the appeal made by a temple priest, Rāmarāja requested the king to grant a village which had been converted unjustly from tax-free temple property (*tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam*) to taxable state property (*paṇḍāravāḍai*).[16] Having himself obtained it from the king, Rāmarāja granted it to the priest, who in turn granted it to the temple. This is the village in which Krishṇamman owned a *maṇḍapam*.

An inscription of Tiruvellarai (*AR* 1939-206) of Tiruchirapalli District records that Ōbaḷa-mahārāja purchased from the authority (*jīyar*) of the Tiruvellarai temple a *maṇḍapam*, garden land and a house site. An inscription of Tiruppālappandal (*AR* 938-421) in South Arcot District recording the remission of 'fishing fee' by an officer in charge of the locality tells us that his charity was made for the merit (*puṇṇiyam*) of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Ōbaḷarāja.[17] A Peṇṇāḍam (South Arcot District) inscription (*AR* 1929-267) refers to a similar merit (*danma*) of Rāmarāja (probably the father of Ōbaḷa), for which a *nāyaka*, and the *nāṭṭavar*s of 17-paṟṟu[18] besides some others remitted certain taxes on the land of the Tirutūṅgānai temple. Another Peṇṇāḍam inscription (*AR* 1929-269) records that an agent of Kōnēri Timmarājarayyan, the *nāṭṭavar*s of 17-paṟṟu and others donated the income accruing as certain taxes from their locality for the merit (*puṇṇiyam*) of Kōnēri Timmarājarayyan.

The picture we get of this *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* family of the sixteenth century differs greatly from that of its counterpart during the previous century. The deeper involvement in local affairs is clear from these records. Two of their inscriptions mention that the villages granted by them are in their own *nāyakkattanam*s. In some cases they purchased the land from others for granting. Members of the family continued to appear for more than three generations as donors of villages or lands. Three of them were designated *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* in the inscriptions, and most of them had the title *mahārāja*. Timmarāja had an agent who worked for him in the Vellar valley, and two members of the family were given merit by the subordinate rulers and the people (*nāṭṭavar*) of the larger territory on the occasion of the latter's making a charitable gift to the temples. At the same time, it is revealed that Ōbaḷa and Krishṇamman owned *maṇḍapam*s in some villages. All this suggests that they were well established in the locality, while maintaining good relations with the king, and deriving legitimacy of their rule from him.

This scrutiny has clarified that structural changes which had taken place in Vijayanagar rule in the middle part of Tamilnadu seem to have led to a new social formation by the beginning of the sixteenth century. I have referred above (Chapter 1) to some points of resemblance between the sixteenth-century *nāyaka*s of North and South Arcot Districts, and the feudal lords of medieval western Europe or Japan in that the *nāyaka*s were a group who were granted territory and the legitimacy of their rule by the king on the one hand, and who strengthened their power through the accumulation of certain rights concerning the management of production in local areas on the other. The social formation in the North and South Arcot Districts under *nāyaka* rule during the sixteenth century was feudal in appearance; the findings of this study concerning the lower Kaveri valley also accord with this suggestion.

NOTES

1. The texts of all these inscriptions are published in *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. XXIV, New Delhi, 1982.
2. Kampaṇa was a son of king Bukkadēvarāya and was sent by his father to conquer the Tamil country.
3. Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire* (Indian ed.), New Delhi, 1977, pp. 269 and 370.
4. From the text, which runs *-namakku nāyakkattanattukku pālittaruḷina tiruchirāppaḷḷi uchāvaḍi vaḍakarai irācharāchavaḷanāṭṭu maḻaināṭṭup pāchchilkūṟṟattu kīḻpālāṟṟuk kīlaimurai marudūr*, it is difficult to say which of the two was Vitthala's *nāyakkattanam*. Maḻaināḍu extends from Musiri to Lalgudi on the northern bank of the Kaveri river.
5. For the history of Madurai Nāyaka, see R. Sathianathaier, *History of the Nayakas of Madura*, Madras, 1924.
6. Most of the *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*s, *nāyaka*s and other officers have Telugu or Kannada names, and famous *nāyaka*s such as Gingee, Tanjore and Madurai claim in some inscriptions that their families came from Vijayanagar.
7. *Uchāvaḍi* or *chāvaḍi* was a large administrative division introduced during the Vijayanagar period. The Tiruvārūr-uchāvaḍi corresponds roughly to present-day Thanjavur District excluding its western part, which belonged to Tiruchirāpaḷḷi-uchāvaḍi.
8. Tiruchirāpaḷḷi-uchāvaḍi corresponds roughly to present day Tiruchirapalli District excluding its northern part and including the western part of Thanjavur District.

9. His name is preceded by his *gōtra* (Maudgalya-gōtra) and *sūtra* (Āśvalāyana-sūtra).

10. This Chauḍappa inscription (no. 309) is assigned by the epigraphist to the reign of Dēvarāya I, but from the reference in the inscription to the two preceding kings (Hiriya-Dēvarāya-mahārāya and Vijayarāya-mahārāya), we can safely infer that the ruling king mentioned as Dēvarāya-mahārāya is Dēvarāya II, who reigned A.D. 1422–1446. However, since as will be shown below, Periya (Hiriya) Siruparasar of the Tēvūr inscription (A.D. 1426) is referred to in this inscription as his predecessor, and therefore the Chauḍappa's period should come in between 1426 and 1446. Among the other Srirangam inscriptions we find two inscriptions (nos. 329 and 331) recording the village/land grant by Aṇṇa Chavuṇḍappagaḷ. They are dated A.D. 1434 and 1435 respectively. If the Chauḍappa of no. 309 is identical with this Aṇṇa Chavuṇḍappagaḷ, he was also a Brāhmaṇa since the latter has a *gōtra* and *sūtra*, though his designation is not given.

11. A previous grant made by the king 'at the time of Hiriya Siruparasar' is mentioned.

12. For *Nāṭṭavar* see Chapter 2 above.

13. Three members of this family have the designation *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*. A *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* is a high-ranking administrator in charge of a large territory variously called *maṇḍalam*, *rājya* or *uchāvaḍi*. In that sense, therefore, the three high-ranking officers of the 15th century examined above could duly have been described as *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, though the designation is not found in their inscriptions.

14. This Viṭṭhala is known from the genealogy given in this inscription as the Vishthala marked with two asterisks in the figure. However, identifyng persons listed in the genealogical table with their namesakes appearing independently in other inscriptions is rather difficult.

15. Like Tirumalai, several names appearing in inscriptions are not found in the genealogy of no. 455, but are known from their *gōtra-śūtra-śākhā-kula* combination to belong to this family. It is often difficult, however, to relate them to the genealogy of no. 455.

16. For *paṇḍāravāḍai* see Chapter 12 below.

17. An inferior giving merit (*puṇṇiyam* or *danmam*) to a superior by making charities may be a way of expressing the former's fidelity to the latter. This point has been discussed in Chapter 1 above.

18. 17-parru, otherwise known as Iruṅgōḷappāḍi, is a vast area extending along both banks of the middle part of the river Vellar in South Arcot and Tiruchirapalli Districts and is called so probably because of its being composed of 17 different *parrus*.

CHAPTER 4

TWO SEMI-INDEPENDENT VIJAYANAGAR GOVERNORS OF CHŌḶAMAṆḌALAM

By the end of the fifteenth century, the structure of the Vijayanagar state is seen to have changed from one of direct administration by the central government to indirect rule through *nāyaka*s who were given territories to administer; and those *nāyaka*s exerted themselves to become feudal lords during the sixteenth century and after.

A study of two *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*s who ruled the same area, i.e., the lower Kaveri valley, otherwise known as Chōḷamaṇḍalam, during the latter half of the fifteenth century, which falls between the period of the three administrators and that of the *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* family examined in Chapter 3, may bring out the characteristics of their rule. The two *mahāmaṇḍalēswara*s are Sāḷuva Tirumalaidēva and Kōnēridēva, in chronological order. There are 12 inscriptions relating to each,[1] in addition to the *Kōyil Oḻugu*, a history of the Śrīraṅgam temple, which records some stories concerning their rule.

The latter half of the fifteenth century was an unsettled and turbulent period for the Vijayanagar rulers. The Oḍḍa invasion took place then: in A.D. 1463/4 the Oḍḍa army reached as far as the lower Kaveri valley, penetrating the defences of the Vijayanagar army.[2] Moreover, the kings ruling at this period, Mallikārjuna and Virūpāksha, were weak and ineffective rulers.[3]

The 12 inscriptions which concern Sāḷuva Tirumalaidēva are summarized below.[4]

1. *AR* 1920-524: Pattisvaram: Kum/Tj: A.D. 1450.
Recording a charity deed of Tirumalaidēva to the *tānattār*[5] of Gōpinātha temple. He purchased some land in his territory (*namaḍaya-pāḷaiyamāna*) and donated it to the temple having made the land tax-free (*sarva-māniyam*). It seems the land was for an extension of the Gōpinātha temple with new streets, a plantation, etc. In the beginning Mallikārjuna is referred to with his *praśasti.*

2. *AR* 1922-448: Papanasam: Pa/Tj: A.D. 1453.
Recording a charity deed of Tirumalaidēva to the *stānattār* of Pāpanāsam temple. He remitted all the taxes due from Papanasam village which he had granted to the temple and permitted the *stānattār*

to enjoy all the income inclusive of the taxes enumerated.

3. *SII*, viii, 342: Jambukesvaram: Tp/Tp: A.D. 1453.
Recording the gift of a medal to a goddess in Jambukesvara temple by Tirumalaidēva who is mentioned as a son of Gōparāja.

4. *AR* 1925-70: Tiruvidakkali: May/Tj: A.D. 1455.
Recording a charitable deed of Tirumalaidēva to some religious institution (*maṭhā*) whose name is lost owing to the damaged stone. He remitted in favour of the donee the taxes on two villages whose extent is stated as 40 *vēli* in the accounts kept in both the *uchāvaḍi*[6] and village offices. Pratāpadēva is referred to in the beginning and he is identified with Mallikārjuna judging from the date of this inscription.

5. *SII*, ii, 23: Thanjavur: Tj/Tj: A.D. 1455.
The document given by Tirumalaidēva to the accountants (*vāriyan karaṇattān*) of the *agrahāra* villages (more than thirteen names are mentioned) near Thanjavur. Some *jōḍi*s and other taxes were remitted in favour of the Brāhmaṇas living there.

6. *AR* 1952-452: Papanasam: Pa/Tj: A.D. 1457.
Recording a charity deed given to the *tānattār* of Pāpanāsam temple by Tirumalaidēva. He remitted all the taxes levied on a temple village, instructing that the *tānattār* should conduct temple services enjoying all the income accruing from the village inclusive of the specified taxes and the *ashṭabhōgam.*[7]

7. *AR* 1922-456: Papanasam: Pa/Tj: A.D. 1458.
A short inscription recording that Tirumalaidēva granted five *vēli* of dry land in a village in Tirukkarukāvūr-paṟṟu as temple land to Pāpanāsam temple.

8. *IPS*-753 : Kudumiyamalai, Kud/Pd: A.D. 1460.
Recording the grant of taxes from more than two herders by Visva Nāyaka. He was entitled to the taxes as the headman of the *iḍaittuṟai*[8] office, bestowed on him by Tirumalaidēva. He petitioned Tirumalaidēva for this grant.

9. *SII*, vi, 4: Tirukkattuppalli: Tj/Tj: A.D. 1460.
The document given to the *tānattār* of Tirukkaṭṭuppaḷḷi temple by Tirumalaidēva, recording the remission of taxes such as *sūlavari*, *kottilakkai*, *nāṭṭukkāṇikkai*,[9] etc. levied on the temple. The *tānattār* were instructed to conduct temple services properly.

10. *SII*, xxiv, 339: Śrīraṅgam, Tp/Tp: A.D. 1464.
Recording the tax remission of the Śrīraṅgam temple's estates in several *paṟṟus*, *nāḍus* and *sīrmais*[10] in Tiruvārūr and Tiruchirāpaḷḷi *uchāvaḍis* by Tirumalaidēva. It is also stated that the villages taken as *kuttogai* (*kuttagai*)[11] by Tirumalaidēva's officers should be returned to the temple and that all the income thus accuing should be sent to the temple treasury.

11. *AR* 1920-527: Pattisvaram: Kum/Tj: no date.
Recording only the construction of some building in a temple by Tirumalaidēva.

12. *AR* 1916-238: Srīmushṇam: Chi/SA: A.D. 1485/6.
Recording the tax remission on a temple village by Nāgaiya Nāyaka. The village was in the *nāyakkattanam*[12] granted to him by Tirumalaidēva, and the *nāyaka*, who is described as a servant (*ūḻiyam*) of Tirumalaidēva, made this charitable donation for the health of his lord (*āṇḍavar*) Tirumalaidēva. Many taxes are enumerated.

The 12 inscriptions which concern Kōnēridēva are summarized below.

1. *AR* 1932-160: Tiruppurambiyam: Kum/Tj: A.D. 1485.
Recording a charity deed of Kōnēridēva given to Tiruppurāmbiyam temple. Many villages which had been the temple estate (*tirunāmattukkāṇi*) were exempted from many enumerated taxes so that temple services could be conducted and repairs taken in hand. Pratāpadēva is referred to in the beginning. It should be a title of Virūpāksha II judging from the date.

2. *SII*, viii, 293: Tittaigudi: Vr/SA: A.D. 1486.
The document given by an agent (*kāriyattukku kaḍavar*) of Kōnēridēva to the *tānattār* of Tiṭṭaiguḍi temple. On the auspicious occasion when the decision was made to make Karaippōkku-nāḍu into Kōnēridēva's queen's *sīrmai* (?), the agent made a village in that *nāḍu* tax-free for the health of the lord (Kōnēridēva). Taxes are enumerated.

3. *AR* 1920-54: Tirumalavadi: Ud/Tp: A.D. 1487.
The document given by Kōnēridēva to the *tānattār* of Tirumaḻavāḍi temple, concerning the remission of many taxes levied on the temple estate. The *tānattār* were instructed to conduct temple services, undertake repairs, etc. with the amount accruing therefrom.

4. *AR* 1918-396: Shiyali: Shi/Tj: A.D. 1488.

The intimation given by Kōnēridēva to the *tānattār* of Sirkali temple. It seems that the temple estate lying between the two rivers[13] had been farmed out as *kuttagai* to Gurukularāya for the purpose of collecting certain taxes. Now that the estate was made tax-free, the forty-two *vēli* of land was to be excluded from Gurukularāya's *kuttagai*. It also records that Gurukularāya made the estate tax-free and gave assurances that the temple could conduct services without any fear.

5. *AR* 1940-384: Uyyakkondan Tirumalai: Tp/Tp: A.D. 1489.
A charity deed given by Kōnēridēva to the *stānattār* of Uyyakoṇḍān Tirumalai temple. He remitted all the taxes which had been paid by them to the palace (*vāsal*), instructing them to utilize the amount for conducting temple services and seeing to repairs. Many *kānikkais*[14] were included among the exempted taxes.

6. *AR* 1940-378: Uyyakkondan Tirumalai: Tp/Tp: A.D. 1489.
The document given to a Kaikkōḷa Mudali[15] of Tirumaḷavāḍi, who is known as the head of the workers group (*kottumudali*), by the Uyyakoṇḍān Tirumalai temple authority. This record is related to the previous inscription (ins. 5) which records the tax remission of a village by Kōnēridēva in favour of the Uyyakoṇḍān Tirumalai temple. Since the remission was made possible by Kaikkōḷa Mudali requesting it of Kōnēridēva, the temple authority was obliged to assign to him some temple land and a house specifying them as inheritable, alienable and tax-free.

7. *AR* 1920-49: Tirumalavadi: Ud/Tp: A.D. 1490.
Recording the construction of a *maṇḍapam* by Kōnēridēva in Vaidyanātha temple.

8. *SII*, xxiv, 351: Śrīraṅgam: Tp/Tp: A.D. 1492.
Recording that a doorway (the entrance to the fifth *prākāra*) was constructed by Kōnēridēva.

9. *SII*, xxiv, 352: Śrīraṅgam: Tp/Tp: A.D. 1492.
Recording that three *vēli* of land in a village near Śrīraṅgam temple were donated by Kōnēridēva for the food offering to the temple deity.

10. *AR* 1920-51: Tirumalavadi: Ud/Tp: A.D. 1492.
The document given by the authorities of Tirumaḷavāḍi temple to a person who also appears in another inscription (ins. 6) as Kaikkōḷa Mudali. Since that person paid *kāṇikkai* to the office of Kōnēridēva thus enabling the temple to conduct *mahā-pūja* and also made a

new idol for the procession deity, the temple authorities decided to assign a *vēli* of temple land to him free of taxes.

11. *AR* 1938-145: Tiruchchendurai: Tp/Tp: A.D. 1492.
The document given by Kōnēridēva to the *dēvakanmigaḷ*[16] of Isānamaṅgalam temple, recording that the temple estate was to be exempted of taxes. The inscription breaks off midway through enumerating the taxes.

12. *AR* 1913-74: Tiruchchengattangudi: Nan/Tj: A.D. 1494.
The document given by an agent (*kāriyattukku kaḍavar*) of Kōnēridēva to the accountants of Tiruchcheṅgāṭṭaṅguḍi temple. The agent remitted many taxes levied on the temple estate (*sīrmai*) by the grace of Kōnēridēva and instructed the accountants to conduct the temple services without any fear.

What picture emerges from these inscriptions? Now, we shall study this point by examining the passages of *Kōyil Oḻugu* (hereafter *KO*) also. The reference to Tirumalaidēva in *KO* is found in the part which praises the contribution of Uttama Nambi, the famous *sthānika*,[17] to Śrīraṅgam temple. It runs:[18]

> When Kuḻittaṇḍal[19] Kamparāja came to Tiruchirāpaḷḷi *sāvadi* (*uchāvaḍi*) as the authoritative representative of the Rāya, Tirumalairāja said that those parts of the country should be left (to him), and there rose differences between them. In Śaka 1380, *Pramādi*, *Puraṭṭasi* month, the *sabhaiyār* and *nāṭṭār* of the southern and northern banks set out along with the peasants (*kuḍigaḷ*), laid the country waste, and lived in the thousand-pillared *maṇḍapa* and in foreign lands for a period of twelve years; then in Saka 1392, *Khara*, the Tiruchirāpaḷḷi-sīma[20] and Taṇḍal-sīma[21] passed under Tirumalarāja, and all the citizens of the southern and northern banks met Tirumalarāja and returned to their respective villages.

We do not know exactly who this Kamparāja who came to Tiruchirāpaḷḷi was, but judging from the expression 'the authorised representative of the Rāya' he was probably a *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*. Tirumalaidēva was certainly a *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, and if we consider the frequent transfer of administrators of Chōḻamaṇḍalam during the first half of the fifteenth century (see Chapter 3 above), Kamparāja must have been the *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* who was sent by the king to succeed Tirumalaidēva. However, if we depend on *KO*, a dispute arose between them over the rule of Chōḻamaṇḍalam. Though the statement in *KO* about the people living in the thousand-pillared *maṇḍapam* and other places for twelve years cannot be taken literally, some trouble seems to have occurred involving the local people in

Tirumalaidēva's possible refusal of the transfer. From the version in *KO*, which tells us of Tirumalai's refusal to leave and his final return to the place, we can infer the rebellious stand he was taking or his desire for independence.

A close examination of his inscriptions reveals that only two of them refer to the ruling Vijayanagar king. Most Vijayanagar-period inscriptions refer to the ruling king in their initial passages, and the absence here of this may well indicate his rebellious disposition. Moreover, we find in his inscriptions certain expressions such as *'aruḷichcheyal'* or *'tiruvuḷampaṟṟi'* both meaning 'by generous permission' which are usually employed when referring to the king. In ins. 12 he is referred to as a ruler (*āṇḍavar*) by a *nāyaka* who in turn is stated to be Tirumalaidēva's servant (*ūḻiyam*).

The activities recorded in these inscriptions are mostly tax remissions made in favour of temples and Brāhmaṇas. Donation of land and the construction of some temple buildings are also recorded. This type of activity is almost the same as that of the Vijayanagar kings and differs substantially from the acts of the sixteenth-century *nāyaka*s who encouraged artisans and merchants by making concessions in their taxes. In contrast, one conspicuous feature of Tirumalaidēva's inscriptions is the mention of a large number of tax terms[22] which, though mentioned in the context of their remissions for religious institutions, indicates the heavy burden put on the people. In the *KO*, however, some charity such as the renovation of the northern *gōpuram* and construction of an eastern passage, is recorded as the deed of Tirumalaidēva made for Śrīraṅgam temple.[23]

His name is given in most of his inscriptions as Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Mēdinimīsuraganḍa Kaṭṭāri Sāḷuva Sāḷuva Tirumalaidēva Mahārājar, and in ins. 3 and 9 he is stated to be a son of Sāḷuva Gōparāja. Though the title Sāḷuva is the same as the title borne by kings of the second dynasty, it is not clear whether he was related to them or not. Nevertheless, as we find in a Śrīraṅgam inscription an expression such as 'among the Sāḷuva *nāyaka*s stationed in Tiruchirāpaḷḷi',[24] he must have been a *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* sent from Karnataka by the Vijayanagar king.

The earliest inscription of his so far known is dated to A.D. 1450 and the last one to 1464, but we have another inscription (ins. 12), in which one of his subordinate *nāyaka*s made a charity praying for his health. He seems from this to have lived at least until 1485, though the absence of his own inscriptions after 1464 needs

explanation. The year 1464 was the year of the Oḍḍa invasion of Chōḷamaṇḍalam, and 1485 coincides with the commencement of Kōnēridēva's rule. The *KO* simply states that Kōnēridēva ruled the country after Tirumalaidēva.

The *KO* passage concerning Kōnēridēva is as follows:[25]

> Formerly Tiruchirāpaḷḷi Sīma and other parts passed into the hands of Tirumalairāja in the year Khara; afterwards Kōnērirāja became the *kartta* (ruler) of this area, and as he was camping in Tiruchirāpaḷḷi, he rendered help to the people of Ānaikkāval,[26] and enabled them to enjoy the sport of scattering turmeric powder, and to fix the boundaries of the Tirumalai garden (*śōlai*); he also handed over the *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* lands (of the Śrīraṅgam temple) as *kuttagai* to the *sāmantas* of the fort including Chenṟappanāyakkar; and in Kōyil (the Śrīraṅgam temple) he collected many taxes in gold such as *pura-vari*[27], *kāṇikkai*, *paṭṭu* and *parivaṭṭam*[28] and oppressed the shrine in various ways; then two *jīyars*[29] and *ēkāṅgis*[30] got upon the eastern *gōpura* of the sacred street of Akaḷaṅkan and perished (by casting themselves down from there); yet the oppression continued, and Kandāḍai Rāmānuja often reported these occurrences to Narasā Nāyaka, the then *de facto* king. Under the pretext of attending to some state affairs in the south, Narasa Nāyaka came with a large army, did away with Kōnēriraja and (occupied) the area including Tiruchirāpaḷḷi.

The last point, that he was subdued by Narasā Nāyaka, is confirmed by the *Achyutarāyabhyudayam* (Rise of Achyutarāya), which states that Narasimha (Narasā Nāyaka) defeated in battle a chief called Kōnētirāja (Kōnēridēva) who opposed him with his elephant hordes.[31] It is certain from those sources that Kōnēridēva was defeated by the army of the Vijayanagar king. Though the reason for this subjugation is attributed by the *KO* to the oppression of the Śrīraṅgam temple, Kōnēridēva's independent, even rebellious, disposition is more marked than that of his predecessor, Tirumalaidēva. In Kōnēridēva's inscriptions also, except the first one, no Vijayanagar ruling king is mentioned, and phrases such as '*aruḷi*', usually applied to the king, are used in reference to him in the inscriptions.

In most of his inscriptions his name is given as Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Paṭṭukkaṭṭāri Irāya Vasavasaṅkaran Madiyādamannar-maṇavālan Kāñchīpuravarādīsra Kōnēridēva Mahārājar, from which we can infer that he or his father had ruled in the Kāñchīpuram area some time before his coming to Chōḷamaṇḍalam. As to the activities recorded in those inscriptions, they do not differ much from those of Tirumalaidēva. He remitted many taxes in favour of some temples and donated land to temples. The taxes referred to in his inscriptions are also various, *kāṇikkai*s being the most conspicuous. The heavy

burden of the *kāṇikkai* and other taxes is also referred to in the *KO*. Though he was spoken very ill of in *KO*, he made donations to the Śrīraṅgam temple also (ins. 8 and 9). The reason he was spoken ill of seems to be his preference for the Tiruvānaikkāval temple, a Śiva temple in the Śrīraṅgam island, to which Śrīraṅgam temple was hostile. Strangely, however, no extant Tiruvānaikkāval inscription refers to Kōnēridēva.

Which year he was subdued by the Vijayanagar king is not clear, but it must have happened between 1494, when the last of his inscriptions was made, and 1497, when Narasā Nāyaka's campaign is believed to have ended.[32]

It is clear from the above that these two *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*s, Tirumalaidēva and Kōnēridēva, ruled the lower Kaveri valley almost independently of the Vijayanagar kings, whose power had been weakened by many factors including the Oḍḍa invasion and the pressure from the Bahmanis of the north.[33] Although both Tirumalaidēva and Kōnēridēva started their career as *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*s of Vijayanagar state, they soon showed a tendency toward independence, and Kōnēridēva was finally subdued by the king who regained power under the new leadership of the Tuḷuva dynasty.

The rule of these two *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*s resembled that of the Vijayanagar kings of the early fifteenth century: they oppressed the people through the imposition of many new taxes; employed *adikāri*s for tax collection, and also farmed out taxes (*kuttagai*).[34] Though they had *nāyaka*s acting as agents under them and the grant of *nāyakkattanam* was also known, they were closer to important administrators or kings who had exploited the people by their arbitrary taxation in the early fifteenth century. Moreover, the area which they ruled, Chōḷamaṇḍalam, had lost the economic vigour of the Chōḷa period, which northern Tamilnadu still enjoyed (see Chapter 11 below).

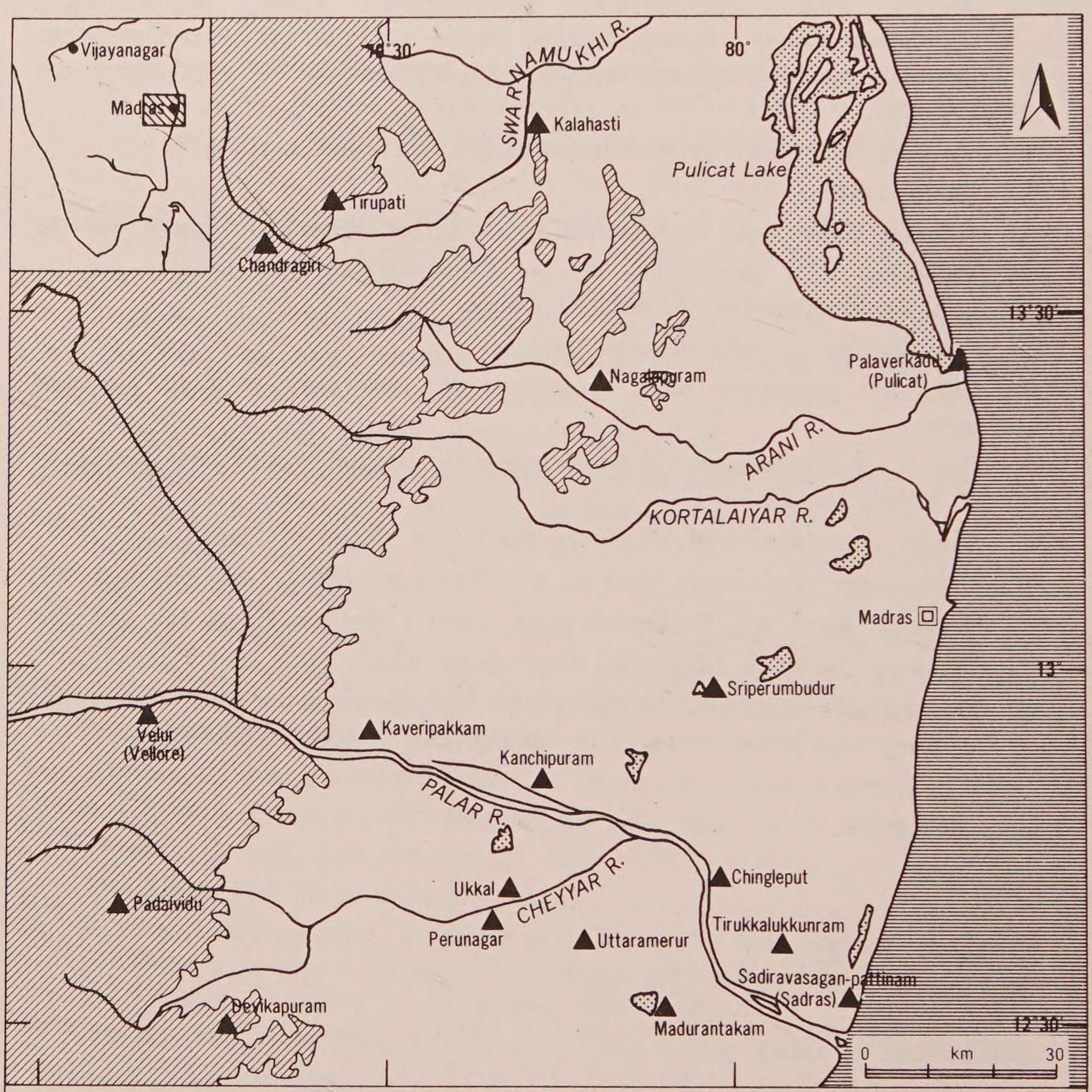
In conclusion, their rule shows the transitional aspect of the Vijayanagar ruling structure; they failed to become feudal lords like the sixteenth century *nāyaka*s who developed the economy by giving many concessions to artisans and merchants, or to become a powerful king like Krishṇadēvarāya, who was able to integrate the country under the new system controlling many *nāyaka*s as his vassals.

NOTES

1. There is another unpublished inscription (*AR* 1911-259) which seems to refer to Kōnēridēva. However, I was not able to get its transcript for this study.
2. Nilakanta Sastri and Venkataramanayya, *Further Sources*, I, p.120.
3. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, pp.271–73.
4. Taluks and districts are given, in abbreviated form, before and after the oblique stroke. The abbreviated forms are, for taluks: Kum- Kumbakonam; Pa- Papanasam; Tp- Tiruchirāpaḷḷi; May- Mayuram; Tj- Thanjavur; Kud- Kudumiyamalai; Chi- Chidambaram; Vr- Vriddhachalam; Ud- Udaiyarpalaiyam; Shi- Shiyali and Nan- Nannilam. For districts: Tj- Thanjavur; Tp- Tiruchirapalli; Pd- Pudukkottai; and SA- South Arcot.
5. *Tānattar* (*stānattār*) means temple executives.
6. *Uchāvaḍi* is the major administrative division under Vijayanagar rule and also denotes the revenue office in the headquarters of an *uchāvaḍi*.
7. *Ashṭabhōgam* means eight kinds of right in enjoying landed property.
8. *Iḍaitturai* denotes the major tax levied on herders (Iḍaiya and Manṟāḍi).
9. *Sūlavari* indicates obligatory presents from temples, *kottilakkai*, expenses for boarding and lodging, and *nāṭṭukkāṇikkai* obligatory presents to the *nāḍu*.
10. *Parru*, *nāḍu* and *sīrmai* are all smaller administrative divisions under Vijayanagar rule. *Sīrmai* often indicates an estate also.
11. *Kuttagai* denotes the lease of land or village for a fixed payment.
12. *Nāyakkattanam* is territory assigned by the king to a *nāyaka* for his management with some provisos.
13. The Kaveri and Kollidam rivers.
14. *Kāṇikkai*, which denotes 'obligatory present', is the most popular tax during the Vijayanagar period. Usually it is combined with some other term indicating the purpose or nature of the present. See Chapter 11.
15. Kaikkōḷa Mudali in those days may be taken as the leader of the Kaikkōḷa (weavers) community.
16. *Dēvakanmigaḷ* are officials in charge of temple affairs.
17. *Sthānika* is a superintendent or manager of a temple.
18. Nilakanta Sastri and Venkataramanayya, *Further Sources*, III, p. 58.
19. Kuḷittaṇḍal seems to be a title or designation, though its meaning is not clear. It is taken by V. H. Hari Rao to refer to a collector who assessed land tax on the basis of *kuḷi* (a small unit in land measurement) in his translation of *Kōyil Oḷugu* (*Kōil Oḷugu: The Chronicle of the Śrīraṅgam Temple with Historical Notes*, Madras, 1961?), but this is mere conjecture.
20. *Sīma* is same as *sīrmai*.
21. The location of Taṇḍal-sīma is not ascertainable.
22. This feature is also seen in the inscriptions of Kōnēridēva, and the largest number of taxes is recorded in his inscription (*AR* 1940-384). They are:

iṟai-ilāpam, koḷundu kāṇikkai, kudirai-kāṇikkai, nāṭṭu-kāṇikkai, viniyōgam, karppūra-kāṇikkai, irāyasa-vattanai, avasara-karaṇikkar vattanai, adikāri-jōḍi, karaṇikkar-jōdi, nīrāṇikkam, chalattaram, kaṇakkar-kāṇikkai, jāti-vari, ina-vari, iḍai-vari, āyam, tōṭṭa-pirakāsam, aṭṭamāṅgisham nīndal, iṟaiyili-kāṇikkai, nāṭṭu-talaiyārikkam, nallerudu, naṟkiḍa, kōṇigai, virippaḍi, ilai-āyam, pōdārikkam, paṇa-vari, paṟaiyar-vari, veṭṭi-vari, kāḍuveṭṭu-āḷ, koḍai-āḷ, āḷ-amañji, ūḻiyam and *pala-vari.*

23. Nilakanta Sastri and Venkataramanayya, *Further Sources*, III, p.58.
24. *SII*, xxiv, 326.
25. Nilakanta Sastri and Venkataramanayya, *Further Sources*, III, pp.76 and 77.
26. Ānaikkāval is a Śiva temple on the Śrīraṅgam islet and situated not far from Raṅganāthasvāmi (Śrīraṅgam) temple.
27. *Pura-vari* denotes miscellaneous taxes.
28. *Paṭṭu* and *parivaṭṭam* seem to indicate the presenting of cloth on some occasion.
29. *Jīyar* is an authoritative Vaishṇava ascetic or *sanyāsin* looking after the affairs of Vishṇu temples.
30. *Ekāṅgi* is an unmarried Vaishṇava devotee in charge of temples.
31. Krishnaswami Ayyanagar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, pp. 108 and 109.
32. Nilakanta Sastri and Venktaramanayya, *Further Sources*, I, pp. 167 and 172.
33. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, p.272.
34. The *adikāri*'s oppression of the people through unjust taxation, is recorded in many inscriptions of the 15th century. (see Chapter 8 below).



Map 3 Chingleput and interior districts during the Vijayanagar period

CHAPTER 5

NĀYAKAS IN CHINGLEPUT DISTRICT INSCRIPTIONS

Much work on the Vijayanagar period has been published recently,[1] bringing to an end the period of neglect after the important studies made in the middle of this century by N. Venkataramanayya, T. V. Mahalingam, and others. Unfortunately, however, some of this recent work still propagates the misconceptions or shortcomings of analysis that prevailed in the early studies. This situation is mainly due to the fact that many scholars have not examined the texts themselves choosing rather to base their arguments on the brief English reports on the inscriptions or on secondary works. Unless we study the large number of extant inscriptional texts themselves, the basic source material on Vijayanagar history, no real advance can be expected.

One of the lingering misconceptions which has created a problem for historians relates to the number of *nāyaka*s that existed during the Vijayanagar period. Although Fernão Nuñiz related that the kingdom of Bisnaga was divided among more than two hundred captains (*nāyaka*s) at the time of Achyutadēvaraya[2] no scholar has attempted to assess the number of *nāyaka*s by examining the extant inscriptions. Nobody denies the important role *nāyaka*s played in the administration of the Vijayanagar kingdom, and scholarly opinion is divided only over the question of the sort of relationship the *nāyaka*s had with the king or the function that *nāyaka*s performed in the state administration.[3] The number of *nāyaka*s has great significance for the elucidation of characteristics of *nāyaka* rule.

A. Krishnaswami in his *Tamil Country under Vijayanagar* gave the names of some 58 *nāyaka*s who appeared in inscriptions in various parts of Tamilnadu up to the end of Krishnadēvarāya's reign (1530).[4] Burton Stein in one of his recent works[5] referred to this survey, if we can call it a survey, as 'an exhaustive search' and A. V. Palat in one of his papers[6] also termed it 'an exhaustive analysis.' However, as I have mentioned elsewhere,[7] if we check even the brief English content of the Vijayanagar inscriptions recorded in the *Annual Report on (South) Indian Epigraphy*, we can easily find many more names of *nāyaka*s than Krishnaswami has listed.

Another misconception concerns the *paṇḍāravāḍai* land which has

been interpreted as 'crown land' by most scholars since the presentation of that idea by N. Venkataramanayya in his *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*. Together with my colleagues I have discovered some evidence in Tamil inscriptions, which urges us to discard the idea of crown land. As I discuss this in Chapter 12 below, I shall concentrate here on the problem of the number of *nāyaka*s by presenting a list of the *nāyaka*s appearing in the Vijayanagar inscriptions of Chingleput District and Madras city in order to correct the first misconception[8] (Map 3).

There are roughly 600 Vijayanagar inscriptions in Chingleput District and Madras city. Of these, the texts of only one-fifth have been published, while the rest remain unpublished. Besides the published inscriptions, I have checked the texts of just over half the unpublished inscriptions by selecting the more important ones.[9] The 370 inscriptions of which I was able to read the texts, cover more than 80 per cent of the important inscriptions which provide us with information concerning the Vijayanagar administration. From those inscriptions, the names of 126 *nāyaka*s have been collected by counting the same name more than once for different inscriptions. However, the rest (23 names) have been collected from the *Annual Report on (South) Indian Epigraphy*. Altogether I have listed 159 *nāyaka*s by name in this chapter. The texts of the unpublished inscriptions which I was unable to read would naturally provide us with more individuals, as the *Annual Reports* do not necessarily give us with the names of all the *nāyaka*s appearing in an inscription.

I have counted as *nāyaka*s people possessing any of the following three qualifications; 1) a *nāyaka* title, including its Tamilized or Telugu form such as *nāyiṉār*, *nāyaniṅgāru*, etc.; 2) his own territory referred to as his *nāyakkattanam* or *sīrmai*; and 3) status as an agent (*kāriyattukku-kartarāna* or *kāriyattu-kaḍava*) of the king. Ninety-five per cent of the cases belong to the first category and just over one per cent fall into the third category. I have included in this list all the *nāyaka*s thus defined and appearing in inscriptions by counting each name only once for each inscription. However, I have tried to identify *nāyaka*s who appeared more than once in different inscriptions to determine the exact number of individual *nāyaka*s.

After identifying *nāyaka*s with the same name, I examined the chronological distribution of those *nāyaka*s, which clearly shows the changed nature of Vijayanagar rule in the Tamil country towards the end of the fifteenth century. Finally, I have made an analysis

of the *nāyaka*s' relations with the king by examining their designations and activities, thus exploring the characteristics of *nāyaka* rule during the Vijayanagar period.

Explanatory Notes on the List and Abbreviations Used

The names are listed in alphabetical order and serially numbered.

The first line of each entry gives the *nāyaka*'s name, his designation, if any, and his kinship relations, if any. This information may sometimes go into the second line.

The second line, or if the first line continues into the second line, the third line, gives first the reference to the inscription from which the *nāyaka*'s name has been taken. If the inscription is published, its particulars are given. If unpublished, the number of the *Annual Report on (South) Indian Epigraphy*, where it is reported. The number in parentheses following it is the reference to my copy collection of the text and an asterisk in parentheses indicates that I could not read the text. Then follows information on the locality of the inscription, namely, the village, taluk and Chingleput District or Madras city in abbreviation.

The third/fourth line gives chronological data, namely, the king's name and the Christian year. An omission indicates that either the king's name is not available or the year is not ascertainable or both.

The fourth/fifth line describes the role of the *nāyaka*s in the record or related information. If the *nāyaka* appears just as the father or the grandfather of a particular *nāyaka* who plays the chief role in the record, this line is omitted. Most inscriptions record the grant of some lands or villages to temples or tax-remission in favour of the temples by *nāyaka*s, but in the short description in this line, I have generally omitted such expressions as 'to a temple' or 'in favour of a temple.'

ABBREVIATIONS

Publications

SII= South Indian Inscriptions
SITI= South Indian Temple Inscriptions
EI= Epigraphia Indica

Taluks

CgT = Chingleput
KcT = Kanchipuram
MdT = Madurantakam
PnT = Ponneri
SdT = Saidapet
SpT = Sriperumbudur
TlT = Tiruvallur
TtT = Tiruttani

Districts

CgD = Chingleput
MC = Madras city

Status and others

N = nāyaka
Ni = nāyinār
DN = daṇḍanāyaka
MHR = mahārāja
MML = mahāmaṇḍalēśvara
AG = agent
P = puṇṇiyam
D = d(h)arma
S = sukirdam
DD = dēvadāna
TVK = tiruviḷakkukkuḍi
TR = tax remission
NKT = nāyakkattanam
ANKT = amara-nāyakkattanam
B = Brāhmaṇa
Dam = damaged

Kings

KP = Kampaṇa
HR = Harihara
DR = Dēvarāya
VP = Virūpāksha
SN = Sāḷuva Narasimha
IN = Immaḍi Narasimha
VN = Vīra Narasimha
KR = Krishnadēva
AC = Achyutadēva
SD = Sadāśiva
SR = Śrīraṅga
VT = Veṅkaṭa
RD = Rāmadēva

Kinship Relations

s/o = son of
gs/o = grandson of
ggs/o = great-grandson of
f/o = father of
gf/o = grandfather of
ggf/o = great-grandfather of
b/o = brother of
eb/o = elder brother of
yb/o = younger brother of

LIST OF *NĀYAKAS*

1. *Achchutappa* N, *aḍa(i)ppam*, s/o Chinna Sevvappa N of Vēppampaṭṭu,
1919-380 (520, *SITI*-369), Kanchipuram, KcT, CgD
SR, 1572
Poliyūṭṭu grant of 5 villages.

2. *Achchutappa* N, Master of Tinagara Piḷḷai
1911-22 (76), Tirumalisai, SpT, CgD
VT? 1594?
Tax reduction by his AG.

3. *Achchutappaya* N, Master of Tirumalai Giriyappayan
SITI -446, Kanchipuram, KcT, CgD
VT, 1586
Remitting taxes on perfumery goods brought by merchants.

4. *Ādiyappa* N, f/o Virūpāksha N?
EI, iii, 24, Unamanjeri, CgT, CgD
AC, 1540.

5. *Akkalappa* N
1944-127 (339), Chellattur, TtT, CgD
AC, 1531
Requesting AC for a grant. *Sīrmai* bestowed on him by AC.

6. *Akkappa* N, *daḷavāy*, AG of the king
1962-306 (*), Stone slab, MC
VT? 1580
Land grant.

7. *Ammaṇa* N of Uyyāla, Master of Chinna Timmu N
1934-78, (206), Mallippakkam, CgT, CgD
SR, 1583?

8. *Aṅgama* N, *daḷavāy*,
SII, xvii, 673, Vedanarayanapuram, CgT, CgD
1637?
Executing king's order?

9. *Annama* N, *sēvakan*, s/o Koppu Seṭṭiyār?
1922-235, (148), Tenneri, KcT, CgD
SN, 1489
Money gift to a poet jointly with Yilakuma N, Kommu N and Koppu N.

10. *Annappa* N
1935-55, (*), Agaram, CgT, CgD
16th Century.

11. *Aṉṉappiḷḷai* N
1933-117, (185), Vittalapuram , CgT, CgD
KR, 1519
Signatory for MML Kulasēkarayyan (N) and Vayyappa N.

12. *Aṉṉapiḷḷai* N, s/o Tānappan?
1934-112, (207), Sempakkam, CgT, CgD
SD, 1547
Signatory for Pettu N together with Vayirava Ni.

13. *Aṉṉappiḷḷai* N, s/o Nallan of Uyyāla and b/o Timma N and Vālu N?
1933-119, (186), Vittalapuram, CgT, CgD
SD, 1556
Granting villages for P of their parents.

14. *Anuma* N of Munil
1922-244, (149), Tenneri, CgT, CgD
SN, 1483
A *nāyaka* of Kulōttuṅga-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. Land assignment.

15. *Bolu* N of Sivapuram, f/o Sirigirināḍar
1931-230, (*), Manamadi, CgT, CgD
HR, 1380.

16. *Bommi* N of Vēlūr
1922-257, (*), Vayalaikkavur, KcT, CgD
SD, 1566
Merit given to him by Vayarava N.

17. *Bumappa* N
1955-340, (*), Kanchipuram, KcT, CgD
15th century
Granting two hamlets.

18. *Cheñjama* N, AG and *daḷavāy* of the king
1931-218, (174), Manamadi, CgT, CgD
VT, 1601
Order to Kaikkōḷas. His order executed by Pāppu N?

19. *Chennama* N
SII, vii, 398, Tirupparuttikunru, KcT, CgD
KR, 1516
His elder brother's *obila* (*umbali*) village given to a Jain temple by KR.

20. *Chennama* N, s/o Mallappa N
1922-197, (468), Sriperumbudur, SpT, CgD
VT, 1608,
Poliyūṭṭu grant of money?

21. *China Krishṇappa* N of Pāvaḍa, f/o Tammappa N, s/o Tammi N
SII, xvi, 328, Kanchipuram, KcT, CgD
VT, 1642.

22. *Chinna* N, *aḍaippam*, s/o Vayyappa N
1922-186, (1981/82), Sriperumbudur, SpT, CgD
SD, 1567
Granting villages in his NKT given by the king.

23. *Chinna Sevvappa* N of Vēppampaṭṭu, f/o Achchutappa N
1919-380, (520), Kanchipuram, KcT, CgD
SR, 1572.

24. *Chinna Timmaya* MHR, MML, s/o Rāmarāju
1905-443, (511), Tiruttani, TtT, CgD
SD, 1549
Granting a village in his *sīrmai*. Executed by Sāḷuva Timmarāja for his P.

25. *Chinna Timmu* N, AG of Ammaṇa N of Uyyāla
1934-78, (206), Mallippakkam, CgT, CgD
SR, 1583?
Land grant.

26. *Chinna Veṅkaṭappa* N, *aḍaippam* of VT? f/o Chinnarāyar
1923-401 (150), Salavakkam, KcT, CgD
1617? 1677?
Chinnarāyar granted a village.

27. *Chōḍa Timmu* N, AG of Nāgama N
SII, xxvi, 336, Tirukkachchur, CgT, CgD
SN, 1489
Paṭṭaḍai formation and TR.

28. *Chokka* Ni
SII, vii, 469, Achcharapakkam, MdT, CgD
1477
Granting a village as D of SN.

29. *Daḷavāy* N,
SII, xvii, 674, Vedanarayanapuram, CgT, CgD
VT, 1637?
His AG (*rāyasam*) settled a water dispute.

30. *Dāmallappa* N
1916-213, (388), Tiruppukuli, KcT, CgD
SD, 1543
Informing Veṅgappa Piḷḷai of king's victory.

31. *Dammarāja*, MML, s/o Vallavarāja, gs/o Kāḍavarāja of Madavavarman family,
SII, iv, 362, Kāñchīpuram, KcT, CgD
VP, 1470
Granting a village in his NKT.

32. *Ellappa* N, *ūliyam*, s/o Seṭṭayappa N
1912-288, (81), Sivankudal, KcT, CgD
AC, 1534
Granting a village in his ANKT while staying in the capital.

33. *Ellappa* N
SII, v, 858, Stone from Chingleput, CgT, CgD
VT, 1609
Granting his *umbaligai* village for P of VT.

34. *Gōpi* N of Dūpāṭi, AG of MML China Timmayadēva MHR
SII, xvi, 164, (*), Kāñchīpuram, KcT, CgD
SD, 1549
Granting a village in his master's NKT for P of his master.

35. *Immaḍi Sāḷuva* N
1935-51, (213), Melur, CgT, CgD
1507
Land grant as his D by his AG (name lost).

36. *Immaḍi Tirumalai* N
1940-340, (279), Tiruvur, T1T, CgD
KR, 1526
Remitting water tax jointly with *mahājana*s.

37. *Immaḍi Tirumalai* N, Master of Sadāśiva N
1940-332, (278), Tiruvur, T1T, CgD
KR, 1526.

38. *Irāyappa* N
1933-87, (177), Kalattur, CgT, CgD
SD, 1546
Village grant by Pāpparasar as Irāyappa's D.

39. *Kāḷattīsura* N, gs/o Tirumalai N?
SII, v, 863, Stone in Madras Museum, CgD
AC, 1528
Granting three estates as D of AC. Grant executed by Namāśivāya N.

40. *Kasavarāja*, s/o Sāḷuva Tippayadēva MHR
1940-339, (279), Tiruvur, T1T, CgD
IN, 1502
Granting a grove in his NKT jointly with *mahājana*s as D of his father.

41. *Kaṭṭama* N, f/o Pālaiya N, S/o Tellama?
1939-300, (263), Poonamallee, SpT, CgD
KR, 1525.

42. *Kevuraṇa* N, s/o Narasāppa N, one of the *kannaḍiya nāyakkappāḍigaḷ* staying at Marudarasar-paḍaivīḍu
1919-173, (105), Churampet, MdT, CgD
IN, 1501
Purchasing lands from *kāṇi*-holders.

43. *Kommu* N, *sēvakan*,
1922-235, (148), Tenneri, KcT, CgD
SN, 1489
Money gift to a poet together with Yilakuma N, Koppu N and Annama N.

44. *Koṇḍama* N, *vāsal*,
1935-50, (212), Kadambur, Cg, CgD
KR, 1521
P given to him together with Tippur N by Yiliṅgappa N.

45. *Koṇḍama* N, f/o Tōḻappa N
1933-97, (183), Vasavasamudram, CgT, CgD
AC, 1537.

46. *Koppu* N, *daḷavāy*, AG of MML.
1919-592, (541), Kanchipuram, KcT, CgD
SD, 1549
Poliyūṭṭu grant of village for P of MML's son?

47. *Koppu* N, *sēvakan*,
1922-235, (148), Tenneri, KcT, CgD
SN, 1487
Gift of money to a poet together with Yilakuma N, Kommu N and Annama N.

48. *Krishṇama* N, *taṇḍu*, s/o Obalaiyar (B)
1955-344, (369), Kāñchīpuram, Kct, CgD
KR, 1528
Granting a village for King's P.

49. *Krishṇama* N, AG of SR, s/o Sekaduraṭṭi
SII, xvii, 676, Nagalapuram, T1T, CgD
SR, 1579
Remitting two taxes on Kaṇmāḷas.

50. *Kulasēkarayyan*, MML
1933-117, (185), Vittalapuram, CgT, CgD
KR, 1521
Village grant in his NKT *Sīrmai*. Executed by Vayyappa N.

51. *Lakkapa* N
1916-193, (*), Tiruppukuli, KcT, CgD
DR, 1438

52. *Liṅga* N, s/o Saṅkara N
1910-250, (*), Narasingapuram, T1T, CgD
SD, 1545
Tax remission for the merit of Chinna Timmayadēva MHR.

53. *Liṅgamma Ayyan* Ni, AG of Vīranārasiṅgarāja N
1935-54, (215), Kondangi, CgT, CgD
1508
Remitting water tax on *bhaṭṭavritti* land.

54. *Mallappa* N, f/o Narasā N
1946-90, (*), Soranjeri, SpT, CgD
IN, 1500.

55. *Mallappa* N, *vāsal*,
1953-253, (349), Ramancheri, T1T, CgD
IN? 1501
Land grant for P of IN.

56. *Mallappa*, *vāsal*,
1953-254, (349A), Ramancheri, T1T, CgD
KR.
Land grant as D of KR. Dam.

57. *Mallappa* N, f/o Timmappa N
1935-26, (211), Nedungunram, CgT, CgD
AC, 1533.

58. *Mallappa* N, f/o Chennama N
1922-197, (468), Sriperumbudur, SpT, CgD
VT, 1608.

59. *Mallu* N, tiruppanippillai, *adikāri*,
SII, vi, 252, Manimangalam, SdT, CgD
17th century? 1623?
Arrangement of temple works.

60. *Nāgama* N, *mugappāvāḍai*, Master of Chōḍa Timmu N
SII, xxvi, 336, Tirukkachchur, CgT, CgD
SN, 1489
D by his AG.

61. *Nāgama* N, *vāsal*? s/o Nāgaṇṇa? f/o Yiliṅgappa N
1935-50, (212), Kadambur, CgT, CgD
KR, 1512
Village grant by his younger brother (name lost) and son.

62. *Nāgama* N, s/o Ponnappa N of Kandanvelu
1916-145, (85), Nayar, PnT, CgD
AC, 1534
Granting a village in his NKT given by AC.

63. *Nāgama* N, s/o Tippu N, eb/o Sīrāma N,
SITI-438, Kanchipuram, KcT, CgD
SR, 1577
P given to him by his younger brother.

64. *Nāgama* N, S/o Timma N? gs/o Pāppa N, ggs/o Veṅgaḷappa N of Vēlūr
1916-208, (387), Tiruppukuli, KcT, CgD
VT, 1592,
Poliyūṭṭu grant of land shares.

65. *Namāśivāya* N. AG of Kāḷattīsura N?
SII, v, 863, Stone in Madras Museum, CgD
AC, 1528
Executing Kāḷattīsura N's grant.

66. *Nāraṇa* N of Sivarām, AG of VT
1940-338, (278), Tiruvur, T1T, CgD
VT, 1592
Granting two villages?

67. *Nāraṇappa* N of Sivarām
SII, xxvi, 346, Kuvam, T1T, CgD
VT, 1578? 1638?
Granting lands for P of *ūravar*?

68. *Narasā* N, *vāsal*, s/o Mallappa N
1946-90, (*), Soranjeri, SpT, CgD
IN, 1500
Granting a village in his *sīrmai* for the merit of the king.

69. *Narasappa* N, f/o Kevuraṇa N, Kannaḍiga N
1919-173, (105), Churampet, MdT, CgD
IN, 1501.

70. *Narasappa* N, s/o Yappa N
1955-322, (365), Kāñchīpuram, KcT, CgD
SD, 1543
Granting a village for the king's P.

71. *Pālaiya* N, s/o Kaṭṭama N
1939-300, (263), Poonamallee, SpT, CgD
KR, 1525
Assigning a temple village by Tirumalai N.

72. *Pāppa* N, s/o Veṅgaḷappa N of Vēlūr, f/o Timma N, gf/o Nāgama N
1916-208, (387), Tiruppukuli, KcT, CgD
VT, 1592.

73. *Pāppu* N, *daḷavāy*,
1931-218, (174), Manamadi, CgT, CgD
VT, 1601
Executing Cheñjama N's order?

74. *Periya Daḷavāy* N
SII, xvii, 674, Vedanarayanapuram, CgT, CgD
VT, 1637?
Settling a water dispute?

75. *Periya Vīrappa* N of Vēlūr, f/o Tippu N
1955-333, (367), Kāñchīpuram, KcT, CgD
SD, 1566.

76. *Pettu* N, AG of Virūpāksha N of Kavaramalai
1934-112, (207), Sempakkam, CgT, CgD
SD, 1547?
Land grant to a *maṭha*. Signatories include Vayirava Ni and Tānappan Aṇṇapiḷḷai N.

77. *Piḷaipoṛuttān Piḷḷai, karaṇikkam*, s/o Malaiperumāḷ. Piḷḷai of Kāñchīpuram
1935-1, (209), Kalavakkam, CgT, CgD
AC, 1538
Granting a village in his NKT for P of AC.

78. *Pirāndūr* Ni of Gōvindapuram (B)
1920-487, (*), Pulal, SdT, CgD
AC, 1531
Assigned two villages by Sāḷuva DN?

79. *Ponnappa* N of Kandanvelu, f/o Nāgama N
1916-145, (85), Nayar, PnT, CgD
AC, 1526?

80. *Pōttu* N (B), f/o Sūrappa N
1919-482, (534), Kāñchīpuram, KcT, CgD
SD, 1548.

81. *Rāgava* N, (*Koyil*)-*Kavalukku-kartar*,
1922-199, (470), Sriperumbudur, SpT, CgD
1594?
Entrusted with protection of a charity.

82. *Rāghava* N, s/o Sīrāmu?
1922-189, (1981/82), Sriperumbudur, SpT, CgD
VT, 1590
Asking Kuḍigaḷ to contribute grains to a festival.

83. *Rāamaliṅga* N, s/o Tammu N of Ārkāḍu
1934-76, (206), Mel-kaṇakkappattu, CgT, CgD
AC, 1533
Reference to his NKT?

84. *Sadāśiva* N, AG of Immaḍi Tirumalai N
1940-332, (278), Tiruvur, T1T, CgD
KR, 1527
Granting house sites after purchase.

85. *Salu* (?) N
SII, iv, 379, Mahabalipuram, CgT, CgD
AC, 1535
Granting a land and a saltpan?

86. *Saḷukkaya* N, *āyam* collector
1923-214, (1981/82), Tiruppulivanam, KcT, CgD
DR, 1425
Fixing *paṭṭaḍai-nūlāyam* by order of MML.

87. *Sāḷuva* DN
1920-487, (*), Pulal, SdT, CgD
AC, 1531
Poliyūṭṭu grant for the merit of his father?

88. *Sāḷuva* N
1919-584, (537), Kanchipuram, KcT, CgD
AC, 1533
His improper execution of the king's order is referred to.

89. *Sāḷuva* N
SII, xxvi, 337, Tirukkachchur, CgT, CgD
17th century? 1621?
Ranking Devaradiyars in a temple. Dam.

90. *Sāḷuva Krishṇama* N
SII, xvi, 102, Kāñchīpuram, KcT, CgD
AC, 1533
His improper execution of the king's order is referred to.

91. *Sāluvarāya* N
1933-22, (177, *SITI*-406), Ulavur, CgT, CgD
KR, 1521
A grant by Kaliyugarayar Piḷḷai and others as his D.

92. *Saṅkara* N, f/o Liṅga N
1910-250, (*), Narasingapuram, T1T, CgD
SD, 1545.

93. *Seṭṭayappa* N, f/o Ellappa N
1912-288, (81), Sivankudal, KcT, CgD
AC, 1533.

94. *Sīrāma* N, s/o Tippu N, yb/o Nāgama N
SITI-438, Kāñchīpuram, KcT, CgD
SR, 1577
Granting money for P of Nāgama N.

95. *Sīraṅga* N
1935-17, (210), Ponmar, CgT, CgD
SD, 1550?
DD grant and TR as D of the king or himself (?)

96. *Sirisiri* N, *sēvakan*,
1922-235, (148), Tenneri, KcT,CgD
SN, 1489
Money gift to a poet together with Yilakuma N, Kommu N and Annama N.

97. *Srīrāma* N, AG of Vasavayadēva MHR
1948-61, (*), Mappedu, T1T, CgD
SD
Arrangement for some service in the temple?

98. *Sūrappa* N, s/o Pōttu N (B)
1919-482, (534), Kāñchīpuram, KcT, CgD
SD, 1548
Village *poliyūṭṭu.*

99. *Sūrappa* N of Señji
1955-334, (368), Kanchipuram, KcT, CgD
SD, 1562?
Assignment of TVK.

100. *Tammaiya* N
1913-511, (*), Stone in the Museum, MC
KP, 1371
Granting a village to Brāhmaṇas.

101. *Tammappa* N, s/o China Krishṇappa N of Pāvaḍa, gs/o Tammi N
SII, xvi, 328, Kanchipuram, KcT, CgD
VT, 1642
Granting a village.

102. *Tammi* N, f/o China Krishṇappa N of Pāvaḍa, gf/o Tammappa N
SII, xvi, 328, Kanchipuram, KcT, CgD
VT, 1642.

103. *Tammu* N of Ārkāḍu, f/o Rāmaliṅga N
1934-76, (206), Mel-kaṇakkappattu, CgT, CgD
AC, 1533.

104. *Timma* N, s/o Nallan of Uyyāla and b/o Vālu N and Aṇṇappiḷḷai N?
1933-119, (186), Vittalapuram, CgT, CgD
SD, 1556
Granting villages for P of their parents.

105. *Timma* N, f/o Nāgama N? s/o Pāppa N, gs/o Veṅgaḷappa N of Vēlūr,
1916-208, (387), Tiruppukuli, KcT, CgD
VT, 1592.

106. *Timma* N, s/o Timmappa N?
SII, xxvi, 369, Kuvam, T1T, CgD
17th century?
Granting a grove for S of Timmappa N. Dam.

107. *Timmappa* N, *vāsal*, s/o Mallappa N
1935-26, (211), Nedungunram, CgT, CgD
AC, 1533
Granting a village for P of the king.

108. *Timmappa* N, *vāsal*,
1935-53, (214), Kondangi, CgT, CgD
AC, 1537
Granting a village as king's D.

109. *Timmappa* N
1933-A8, (*), CP, MC
AC, 1537
Requesting AC in the capital to grant a village to Brāhmaṇas.

110. *Timmappa* N
1935-55, (*), Agaram, CgT, CgD
16th century
Establishing an *agrahāram* and making TR.

111. *Timmappa* N, f/o Timma N?
SII, xxvi, 369, Kuvam, T1T, CgD
17th century?

112. *Timmi* N, Master of a son of .... N
1934-118, (208), Venbedu, CgT, CgD
AC, 1533?

113. *Tippu* N
1935-50, (212), Kadambur, CgT, CgD
KR, 1512,
P given to him together with Koṇḍama N by Yiliṅgappa N.

114. *Tippu* N, s/o Periya Vīrappa N of Vēlūr
1955-333, (367), Kanchipuram, KcT, CgD
SD, 1566?
Granting a village?

115. *Tippu* N, f/o Sīrāma N and Nāgama N
SITI 438, Kanchipuram, KcT, CgD
SR, 1577.

116. *Tirumalai* N
SII, xvii, 684, Nagalapuram, T1T, CgD
KR, 1524
Settling a land dispute.

117. *Tirumalai* N, Governor of Paḍaivīḍu-rajyam
SII, xvii, 685, Nagalapuram, TlT, CgD
KR, 1524
Settling a land dispute.

118. *Tirumalai* N
1939-300, (263), Poonamallee, SpT, CgD
KR, 1525
Granting lands in his NKT *sīrmai* and assigning them to Pālaiya N.

119. *Tirumalai* N, f/o Na... N? gf/o Kāḷattīsura N?
SII, v, 863, Stone in Madras Museum, CgD
AC, 1530.

120. *Tirumalai* N, *daḷavāy* and AG of prince Veṅkaṭapati, s/o Goppaṇa?
SII, xxvi, 270, Kunnattur, CgT, CgD
SR, 1576
Granting a village for P of the prince.

121. *Tirumalai* N, AG of prince Veṅkaṭapati and *daḷavāy*,
1933- 111, (184, *SITI*-502),Mahabalipuram, CgT, CgD
SR, 1578
Granting a village for P of the prince.

122. *Tirumalai* N, *daḷavāy* of prince Veṅkaṭapati?
1933-3, (*), Chingleput, CgT, CgD
SR, 1580
Granting a village?

123. *Tirumalai* N of Tōppūr, *daḷavāy* of prince Veṅkaṭapati
1919-479, (524), Kanchipuram, KcT, CgD
SR, 1582,
Poliyūṭṭu grant of a village.

124. *Tirumalai* N, *daḷavāy* of prince Veṅkaṭaiya, s/o Gōpāla?
1922-194, (1981/82), Sriperumbudur, SpT, CgD
SR, 1582
Poliyūṭṭu grant of a village.

125. *Tirumala* N, *daḷavāy* of prince Veṅkaṭapati
SII, viii, 536, Mylapore, MC
SR, 1584
Poliyūṭṭu grant of two villages.

126. *Tīttāra Piḷḷai* belonging to Teṟupuḷiyamaram and living in Kāñchī, AG of AC
1910-238, (68), Narasingapuram, T1T, CgD
AC, 1533
Land grant to Brāhmaṇas as D of AC to establish a BD?

127. *Tīttāra Piḷḷai* of Kāñchī, AG of AC
1910-239, (69), Narasingapuram, T1T, CgD
AC, 1535
Land grant to Śrīvaishṇavas for P of Narasā Nāyaka.

128. *Tōḻappa* N, s/o Koṇḍama N
1933-97, (183), Vasavasamudram, CgT
CgD, AC, 1537
Granting a village in his *sīrmai* for P of AC?

129. *Vaiyappa* N, Master of an AG.
1912-277, (*), Perambakkam, CgT, CgD
1533? Dam.

130. *Vālappa* N
1933-99, (183), Ilaiyankuppam, CgT, CgD
AC, 1542?
Land grant together with Veṅgaḷappa N.

131. *Vālu* N, s/o Nallan of Uyyāla and b/o Timma N and Aṇṇapiḷḷai N?
1933-119, (186), Vittalapuram, CgT, CgD
SD, 1556
Granting villages for P of their parents.

132. *Vasavappa* N, *aḍaippam*, eb/o Vayyappa N
1916-216, (85), Tiruppukuli, KcT, CgD
KR, 1521
TR of a *piḍāgai* as D of KR.

133. *Vasavappa* N, s/o Vayyappa N?
1944-131, (339), Vediyangadu, TtT, CgD
KR, 1527
Granting a village with taxes.

134. *Vayarava* N, Village headman?
1922-257, (*), Vayalaikkavur, KcT, CgD
SD, 1566
Granting a village for the merit of Bommi N of Vēlūr.

135. *Vayirava* Ni, AG of Vīranārasiṅgarāja N
1935-23, (211), Ottivakkam, CgT, CgD
KR, 1510? 1524?
Grant?

136. *Vayirava* Ni, AG of Vīranārasiṅgarāja (N), s/o Kāḷattināthar
1935-27, (*), Nedungunram, CgT, CgD
1527? 1528?
Land grant in his NKT.

137. *Vayirava* Ni
1934-112, (207), Sempakkam, CgT, CgD
SD, 1547
Signatory for Pettu N together with Tānappan Aṇṇapiḷḷai N.

138. *Vayyappa* N
1933-117, (185), Vittalapuram, CgT, CgD
KR, 1519
Executor for Kulasēkarayyan (N).

139. *Vayyappa* N, yb/o Vasavappa N
1916-216, (85), Tiruppukuli, KcT, CgD
KR, 1521.

140. *Vayyappa* N, f/o Vasavappa N?
1944-131, (339), Vediyangadu, TtT, CgD
KR, 1527.

141. *Vayyappa* N, (B) f/o Chinna N
1922-186, (1981/82), Sriperumbudur, SpT, CgD
SD, 1567.

142. *Veṅgaḷappa* N
1033-99, (183), Ilaiyankuppam, CgT, CgD
AC, 1542?
Land grant together with Vālappa N.

143. *Veṅgaḷappa* N of Vēlūr, f/o Pāppa N, gf/o Timma N, ggf/o Nāgama N
1916-208, (387), Tiruppukuli, KcT, CgD
VT, 1592.

144. *Veṅkaṭādiri Ayyan* (B?), *rāyasam* of MML
1935-34, (212), Nandivanam, CgT, CgD
SD, 1550
Granting a village in his NKT *sīrmai* for P of MML.

145. *Veṅkaṭappa* N of Damal, gf/o Venkattappa N
SII, xvii, 671, Tiruvandavar, KcT, CgD
RD, 1625.

146. *Veṅkaṭṭappa* N, s/o *rāyasam* Chennappa, gs/o Veṅkaṭappa N of Damal
SII, xvii, 671, Tiruvandavar, KcT, CgD
RD, 1625
Land grant.

147. *Vīranārasiṅgarāja* N, Master of Liṅgamma Ayyan Ni
1935-54, (215), Kondangi, CgT, CgD
1508.

148. *Vīranārasiṅgarāja* N, Master of Vayirava Ni
1935-23, (211), Ottivakkam, CgT, CgD
KR, 1510? 1524?

149. Vīranārasiṅgarāja N, (Chellappa)
1908-361, (*), Mangadu, SdT, CgD
KR, 1514
Merit was given to him.

150. *Vīranārasiṅgarāja* N, s/o Taḷuvakkuḷaindān Bhaṭṭa (B)
1916-225, (86), Senganmal, CgT, CgD
KR, 1520
Ordering some Piḷḷai to grant a village in his *sīrmai* for S of the king.

151. *Vīranārasiṅgarāja* N,
SII, vii, 447, Achcharapakkam, MdT, CgD
KR, 1529
Remitting certain taxes for P of KR while staying at the capital.

152. *Vīranārasiṅgarāja* N
1923-83, (150), Ullavur, KcT, CgD
AC, 1529
TR? Dam.

153. *Vīranārasiṅgarāja* N. (Chellayyan, Sāḷuvadaṇāyaka),
1910-256, (75), Urattur, CgT, CgD
AC, 1530
Granting a *piḍāgai*.

154. *Virūpāksha* N, AG of AC, s/o Ādiyappa N?
EI, iii, 24, Unamanjeri, CgT, CgD
AC, 1540
Requesting AC to grant a village to Brāhmaṇas.

155. *Virūpāksha* N of Kavaramalai, Master of Pettu N
1934-112, (207), Sempakkam, CgT, CgD
SD, 1547?

156. *Yappa* N, f/o Narasāppa N
1955-322, (365), Kanchipuram, KcT, CgD
SD, 1543.

157. *Yellappa* N, s/o Katti
1913-516, (*), Stone in the Museum, MC
VT, 1609? 1613?
Land grant for the merit of the king.

158. *Yilakuma* N, *sēvakan*,
1922-235, (148), Tenneri, KcT, CgD
SN, 1489
Money gifted to a poet together with Kommu N, Annama N and Sirisiri N.

159. *Yiliṅgappa* N, s/o Nāgama N, gs/o Nāgaṇṇa
1935-50, (212), Kadambur, CgT, CgD
KR, 1521
Granting a village in his (?) NKT for P of his family members and of Koṇḍama N and Tippu N.

Identification of Nāyaka*s*

There are two Achchutappa Nāyakas in our list, nos. 1 and 2, and one Achchutappaya Nāyaka, no. 3. The first can be identified with his namesake of the Thanjavur Nāyakas as he is stated to be a son of Chinna Sevvappa Nāyaka, though the village name Vēppampaṭṭu presents a problem.[10] Though there is no firm evidence, Nāyakas nos. 2 and 3 seem to be one and the same, since both have agents under them. During the reign of Śrīraṅga I we find in some South Arcot District inscriptions yet another Achchutappa Nāyaka whose father is recorded as one Bayyappa Nāyaka (*SII*, xvi, 294 and 295). Though the relationship between these Nāyakas is not clear, we shall count two Achchutappa Nāyakas in this list by separating Thanjavur Achchutappa from the others.

We have three Aṇṇappiḷḷai Nāyakas, nos. 11 to 13. If the reading of the inscriptions is correct, the Aṇṇappiḷḷais nos. 12 and 13 cannot

be the same, since they have different fathers. Though the Aṇṇapiḷḷais nos. 11 and 13 appear in inscriptions of the same village, the time difference is 37 years, which reduces the possibility of their being identical. We may therefore count three different Aṇṇappiḷḷai Nāyakas in this list.

The two Chennama Nāyakas, nos. 19 and 20, cannot be the same since they belong to different periods.

The Ellappa Nāyakas, nos. 32 and 33, cannot be the same because of the time difference.

Immaḍi Tirumalai Nāyakas, nos. 36 and 37, must be one and the same, as their inscriptions are found in the same temple and dated very closely (in the same month).

We have two Koṇḍama Nāyakas, nos. 44 and 45, whose relationship is not clear. The North and South Arcot inscriptions also contain many Koṇḍama Nāyakas including the famous Señji Nāyaka whose son is Muttu Krishṇappa Nāyaka. Because of the time difference and their kinship relations, neither of our Nāyakas can be identified with Señji Nāyaka. However, here we shall tentatively consider them to be one and the same person.

The two Koppu Nāyakas, nos. 46 and 47, are separated by time. Similarly, the time difference seems to separate two Krishṇama Nāyakas in nos. 48 and 49.

We have five Mallappa Nāyakas, nos. 54 to 58. Of these, nos. 55 and 56 may be same since both have the designation *vāsal*, though the exact year cannot be ascertained for no. 56. In the case of no. 54, *vāsal* seems to be his son, Narasā Nāyaka, and this Mallappa Nāyaka may be different from his namesakes in nos. 55 and 56. The Mallappa Nāyakas nos. 57 and 58 are again different individuals, since their fathers are different. Therefore, we can count four Mallappa Nāyakas in this list.

We have five Nāgama Nāyakas, nos. 60 to 64, but Nāyakas nos. 61 to 64 are all separate individuals, since their fathers are different. It is possible to treat Nāyakas nos. 60 and 61 as the same person considering the fact that the Nāgama of no. 61 appears in his son's inscription. North Arcot inscriptions provide us with Nāgama Nāyaka whose father is Tippu and whose son is Bommu (*AR* 1943-105 and 1964-179). In the former inscription Bommu Nāyaka is stated to be the ruler of Vēlūr. If we identify the Nāgama Nāyaka of no. 63 with the Vēlūr Nāgama Nāyaka of the North Arcot inscription, both the Nāgama Nāyakas, nos. 63 and 64, should belong to the same

family, though their relationship is not clear. We can count four Nāgama Nāyakas in this list.

The Nāraṇa Nāyaka of no. 66 and Nāraṇappa Nāyaka of no. 67 may be one and the same, as both belong to the same family. However, the date of the latter inscription is not clear, and if it is dated to the 17th century, they may be grandfather and grandson. Tentatively, we shall treat the two as one and the same.

We have one Narasā Nāyaka, no. 68, and two Narasappa Nāyakas, nos. 69 and 70. We may tentatively consider them all as separate individuals.

Two Rag(h)ava Nāyakas, nos. 81 and 82, seem to be the same individual, as they appear in the inscriptions of the same temple belonging to the same period.

We have one Sāḷuva Daṇḍanāyaka, no. 87, two Sāḷuva Nāyakas, nos. 88 and 89, one Sāḷuva Krishṇama Nāyaka, no. 90 and one Sāluvarāya Nāyaka, no. 91. Excepting the Sāḷuva Nāyaka of no. 89 who lived at a different time, all the others are the same individual as the Vīranārasiṅgarāja Nāyaka to be found below. He is also known as Chellappa or Chellayya. Fernão Nuñiz refers to him as Salvanay or Salvanayaque.[11] The identification of all these names has already been made[12] except for the Sāḷuva Krishṇama Nāyaka appearing in no. 90. He must have borne this title (Krishṇama) since he served Krishṇadēvarāya for a long time as a very important minister. The identification of this Sāḷuva Krishṇama with Vīranārasiṅgarāja and others is certain enough from the contents of the inscription.[13]

There are two Sūrappa Nāyakas, nos. 98 and 99. The former is stated to belong to Señji. Like no. 99, in the South Arcot inscriptions also there appears a Sūrappa Nāyaka whose father is stated to be Pottu, Pottappi or Pottappa (*AR* 1919-1, 1938-465 and *SITI*-68) and who belongs to the Kāśyappa-gōtra. As the Señji Nāyakas are also known to belong to the Kāśyappa-gōtra, we may be able to identify Nāyakas nos. 98 and 99. It is rather difficult, however, to give this Sūrappa a proper position in the genealogy of the Señji Nāyakas known to us.

We have three Timma Nāyakas, nos. 104 to 106, and five Timmappa Nāyakas, nos. 107 to 111. The names Timma and Timmappa can be considered to be the same. However, the fathers of Nāyakas nos. 104 to 107 are all different. The Timmappan of no. 111 is also different from the others, as he is the father of the Timma of no. 106 and belongs to a later period. However, the Timmappas nos.

107 to 109 seem to be one and the same, judging from their close association with the king. The Timmappa no. 110 also may be identical with them. We count five different Timma or Timmappa Nāyakas in this list.

Of the three Tippu Nāyakas, nos. 113 to 115, the Tippu of no. 113 should be separated from the rest because of the time difference. The Tippu of no. 115 seems to be a Vēlūr Nāyaka as his father is Nāgama Nāyaka. If so, the Tippu Nāyakas nos. 114 and 115 could be identical, and we shall treat them as so.

Though we have ten Tirumalai Nāyakas, nos. 116 to 125, they can be identified as two individuals, namely, the Tirumalai who being stationed at Paḍaivīḍu worked for Krishṇadēvarāya (nos. 116, 117 and 118) and the Tirumalai who worked for prince Veṅkaṭapati as *daḷavāy* (nos. 120 to 125). The Tirumalai of no. 119 can also be included in the first group, though the Tirumalai of Paḍaivīḍu is known from a North Arcot inscription (*AR* 1912-356) as the father, not grandfather, of Kāḷattīsura Nāyaka.

Two Tīttāra Piḷḷais, nos. 126 and 127, can be easily identified as one and the same. We have yet another Tīttāra Piḷḷai recorded in an inscription of Tiruvandavar (KcT, CgD) as having remitted *jōḍi* tax as the *dharma* of Achyutadēvarāya. Though I have not included this person in the list since he has none of our *nāyaka* qualifications, we can identify him also with the Tīttāra Piḷḷai identified above.

Two Vasavappa Nāyakas, nos. 103 and 104, present a problem. One is stated to be the elder brother of Vayyappa Nāyaka and the other seems to be a son of Vayyappa Nāyaka. They may or may not be the same. Tentatively we shall treat them as different individuals, on the basis of the kinship terms used in the two inscriptions.

We have one Vayarava Nāyaka, no. 134, and three Vayirava Nāyakas, nos. 135 to 137. The Vayirava Nāyakas of nos. 135 and 136 should be the same individual, since both are recorded as agents of Vīranārasiṅgarāja Nāyaka. They are different from the Vayarava Nāyaka of no. 134 because of the time difference. However, the Vayirava of no. 137 could be identified with either of these two different Vaya(i)rava Nāyakas. We shall tentatively identify him with the Vayiravas of nos. 135 and 136, as all three have the Tamilized form (*nāyinār*) of the title.

Of the four Vayyappa Nāyakas, nos. 138 to 141, the last one may be distinguished from the others because of the time difference. The

Vayyappas nos. 139 and 140 do not seem to be the same individual. We may count therefore three or four Vayyappas. Though Vayyappa Nāyakas appear in many South Arcot inscriptions, there is no clue towards their identification. Tentatively, we shall regard the Vayyappas of nos. 138 and 139 as being one and the same, counting three Vayyappa Nāyakas in this list.

Difference in time seems to separate the two Veṅgaḷappa Nāyakas of nos. 142 and 143.

The two Veṅgaṭ(ṭ)appa Nāyakas, nos. 145 and 146, are grandfather and grandson.

All the seven Vīranārasiṅgarāja Nāyakas of nos. 147 to 153 are one and the same, and moreover, they are to be identified with Sāḷuva Daṇḍanāyaka, Sāḷuva Nāyaka, Sāḷuva Krishṇama Nāyaka and Sāluvarāya Nāyaka of nos. 87 to 91, as I have already discussed. The Virūp(p)āksha Nāyakas nos. 154 and 155 may be considered to be the same individual.

The Number of Nāyaka*s and Their Chronological Distribution*

The identification made above indicates that there were some 124 *nāyaka*s in the Chingleput District and Madras city area during the Vijayanagar period. Of course, this figure cannot be taken to be an accurate one; the identification is tentative. Moreover, some of the names are taken only from the *Annual Report on (South) Indian Epigraphy*, and a reading of the text of those inscriptions may reveal more names. Therefore, we can safely conclude that probably not less than 124 *nāyaka*s recorded their activities in the inscriptions.

The chronological distribution of those 124 *nāyaka*s is as follows: two in the fourteenth century; fifteen in the fifteenth century; eighty-eight in the sixteenth century; and nineteen in the seventeenth century.

In the fifteenth century, of the fifteen *nāyaka*s, twelve belong to the latter half, and two to the first half of the century, while one remains uncertain. Moreover, eleven of them belong to the last quarter of the century. From this distribution pattern, therefore, we can say that *nāyaka* rule began to function in the Tamil country as the state ruling system only from the last quarter of the fifteenth century, though we find some *nāyaka*s even during the fourteenth century. *Nāyaka* rule seems to have continued at least until the beginning of the seventeenth century, for we have inscriptions recording the

activities of *nāyaka*s who acknowledged the rule of Vijayanagar kings till the 1640s.

Sixteen of the 124 *nāyaka*s in the above list are known to have possessed their own territories (*nāyakkattanam* or *sīrmai*), of which fifteen belong to the period after 1485. The establishment of *nāyaka* territory (*nāyakkattanam*) must have coincided with the commencement of vigorous activity on their part, as I have suggested earlier.[14]

It is not easy to presume from the above evidence how many *nāyaka*s resided in the Tamil country during the Vijayanagar period, but we may say on the basis of previous studies that nearly 200 *nāyaka*s apart from the ones listed above appeared in inscriptions in the districts of South and North Arcot, Tiruchirappalli, Thanjavur and others. Therefore, the number of Vijayanagar *nāyaka*s recorded in inscriptions from the Tamil country may exceed 300, most of whom belong to the post-1475 period.

The Nāyaka*s' Relation with the King*

Some of the *nāyaka*s listed above have their designation or status term given in the inscription, showing their relation with the king or position in the central government. They are as follows.

Designation	*Case*	*Designation*	*Case*
Daḷavāy[15]	5	*Mugappāvāḍai*	1
Vāsal	5	*Adikāri*	1
Sēvakan	5	*Ūḻiyam*	1
Aḍaippam	4	*Taṇḍu*	1
Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara	3	Governor	1
Karaṇikkam	1		

Daḷavāy normally means a military leader like *sēnāpati*, but during the Vijayanagar period *daḷavāy*s attended the king's council and seem to have been important officers[16]. *Vāsal* is another important official in attendance at the royal palace and Nuñiz and Paes called him 'the chief of the guard.'[17] *Sēvakan* is a general term meaning servant but the term appears in inscriptions between the king's and the *nāyaka*'s name, indicating that he served the king. *Aḍaippam* is the betelnut bearer who served the king as a page. Nuñiz provided an example of the page who served the king with betel commanding

a military force consisting of 15,000 foot soldiers and 200 horses.[18] Paes also included *aḍaippam*s among the important royal attendants.[19] *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* is the title given to the person (often of royal blood) who governed a large territory. *Karaṇikkam* is an accountant, but in this case seems to be that of the state or royal household. *Mugappāvāḍai* is, like *aḍaippam*, one of the royal attendants charged with holding the king's towel. *Adikāri* is the officer entrusted with the administration. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they often worked under *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*s in their local administration. *Ūḻiyam* is another general term for a servant, but in this case serving the king. *Taṇḍu* means palanquin and here may refer to the official in charge of palanquins in the palace. According to Nuñiz palanquins were used only by captains (*nāyaka*s) and other important persons and there were 20,000 litters and palanquins in the royal palace.[20] The actual phrase translated here as 'governor' is (*paḍaivīḍu*)-*rājyattukku-kartar* ...' applied to Tirumalai Nāyaka (*SII*, xvii, 685). Like a *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, Tirumalai seems to have been entrusted by the king with administration of the large area of Paḍaivīḍu-rājyam.

Besides these officials there are seven *nāyaka*s described as working for the king[21] as his agent (*kāriyattukku- karttarāna* or *kāriyattu kaḍava*). Three of them bear the designation *daḷavāy* also, but the other four have none of the above designations. If we add these four to the number of *nāyaka*s with designations, we get the number thirty-two. It is clear, therefore, that about one-fourth of the *nāyaka*s had some relation with the king or some position in the central government.

An examination of the inscriptions listed above yields more evidence on the *nāyaka*s' close associations with the king. As is to be expected from temple inscriptions, many of them record donations or tax-remission on lands or villages by *nāyaka*s in favour of the temples. Some specifically state that the charity was made for the merit (*puṇṇiyam*) or health (*sukirudam*) of the king, or as the charity (*dharmam*) of the king, thereby indicating their close link with the king, or their aspirations towards it.[22] There are twenty such cases in the list above. Two inscriptions (nos. 5 and 109) record that the *nāyaka* requested the king for a grant.

There are two cases (nos. 32 and 151) in which the *nāyaka* is stated to have made his charity while he was in the Viṭṭalasvāmi temple in Vijayanagara, the state capital. Though it is not clear from the gist of the inscription given in the *Annual Report*, the *nāyaka*

of no. 109 also seems to have been in the capital when submitting his request to the king. The *nāyaka* of no. 30 seems to have sent a letter from the capital to his subordinate who remained in his territory and informed him of the king's victorious recovery of the capital.

Such cases are very important, as they concern a crucial point of Nuñiz's statement that *nāyaka*s were obliged to reside at the capital and to leave the management of their territories to agents in the locality. Though we do not know how many or what sort of *nāyaka*s actually remained in the capital, or the duration or frequency of their stay, they do seem to have been present in the capital rather frequently,[23] like the *daimyō*s of the Japanese feudal regime who during the Tokugawa period were obliged to visit the capital (Edo) regularly.

Some of them must have remained in the capital as they served the king. However, we should not miss the point: *nāyaka*s in the sixteenth century displayed a tendency towards localization, as I have pointed out in Chapter 3 above. The list above also indicates such a tendency. For example, the evidence concerning Nāgama Nāyaka (nos. 63 and 64) shows the established power of his family in the Vēlūr area in North Arcot District. No. 64 indicates the hereditary succession to *nāyaka*ship in this family, to which Bommi Nāyaka (no. 16) and Tippu Nāyaka (son of Periya Vīrappa Nāyaka) (no. 114) also seem to have belonged. Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka (no. 145) and Veṅkaṭṭappa Nāyaka (no. 146) (grandfather and grandsom) provide another example of the locally established power of a *nāyaka* family, as we find the activities of this *nāyaka* family of Dāmal recorded in North Arcot District inscriptions also.[24]

Relations among Nāyaka*s*

The material listed above provides some information on the relationship among *nāyaka*s. We find many *nāyaka*s described as the agent of some superior *nāyaka*, or the master of some subordinate *nāyaka*. We have a *nāyaka* (no. 144) who served as a *rāyasam* (secretary) to a *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*. Saḷukkaya Nāyaka (no. 86) worked for a *mahāpradhāni* (minister) as an *āyam* (tax) collector. According to several inscriptions in North Arcot District, Chinna Bommu Nāyaka (either the Bommi Nāyaka of no. 16 or closely related to him) made petitions to the king through the good offices of *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*

Tirumalai-mahārāja or Krishṇappa Nāyaka and obtained permission to grant some villages to Jvarakaṇḍēśvara temple in Vēlūr.[25] Besides, in the same way as it was given for the king, merit (*puṇṇiyam*) was also given for other *nāyaka*s in some of the inscriptions. These pieces of evidence show the well-knit hierarchical structure of the *nāyaka* system.

The relationship that *nāyaka*s had with local magnates or leading landholders under them, has been discussed elsewhere.[26] However, it may not be out of place to state here that in this area also the *nāṭṭavar*s, corporate bodies of leading landholders, were comparatively more conspicuous during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries than the sixteenth century.[27] They almost cease to appear in inscriptions from the latter half of the fifteenth century.

Conclusion

Notwithstanding the limited scope of this study, it is clear that there were many *nāyaka*s in the northern part of Tamilnadu during the period covering the end of the fifteenth century to the beginning of the seventeenth, and that they participated quite actively in state administration. Some of them had direct and close associations with the king, holding important positions in the central government, while others worked under superior *nāyaka*s, supervising the local production in the territory bestowed by the king. Contrary to what Burton Stein says, that 'the *nāyaka* system is presented *as a system* only in the reports of Portuguese visitors' (Nuñiz and Paes),[28] it functioned as the state system in the Tamil country for nearly 150 years from the last quarter of the fifteenth century, showing much resemblance to the feudal lord-vassal relations prevailing in medieval western Europe and Japan.

NOTES

1. Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, New Delhi, 1980; 'Vijayanagar c. 1350–1564', in Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib (ed.), *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, vol. I, Cambridge, 1982; 'Vijayanagar and the Transition to Patrimonial System', in A. L. Dallapiccola and Lallemant (ed.), *Vijayanagara-city and Empire*, Wiesbaden, 1985;

'Reapproaching Vijayanagara', in R. E. Frykenberg and P. Kolenda (ed.), *Studies of South India: An Anthology of Recent Research and Scholarship*, Madras, 1985: Fritz, George Michell and Nagaraja Rao, *Where Kings and Gods Meet: The Royal Centre at Vijayanagara, India*, Tucson, 1984: Vijaya Ramaswamy, *Textiles and Weavers in Medieval South India*, New Delhi, 1985: R.A. Palat, 'Structure of Class Control in Later Medieval South India,' paper read at 39th Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Boston, 1987; 'The Vijayanagara Empire', in H. J. M. Claessen and P. Van de Velde (eds.), *Early State Dynamics*, Leiden, 1987: Venkata Raghotham, 'Vijayanagar Warrior Chieftains and Tamil Peasant Elites,' paper read at Seminar on the Pre-Colonial State in South India, New Delhi, 1989.

2. Swell, *Forgotten Empire* (Indian ed.), p. 370.
3. Many scholars consider *nāyakas* to have been feudal lords who owed allegiance to the Vijayanagar kings to whom they paid a certain amount of the revenue of the territory assigned to them, though the basis and degree of this interpretation as feudal lords differs from one scholar to another. Burton Stein takes them to be powerful warriors who at times associated with the military enterprises of the Vijayanagar kings, but who at all times remained territorial magnates in their own right (Stein, *Peasant State and Society*, p. 105).
4. Krishnaswami, *The Tamil Country*, pp. 181–6.
5. Stein, *Peasant State and Society*, p. 398.
6. Palat, 'Structure of Class Control,' p. 29.
7. Karashima, 'Nayaka Rule in the Tamil Country,' p. 64.
8. As I have already studied the problem of the *nāyakas* of the districts of North Arcot, South Arcot, Tiruchirapalli and Thanjavur (Chapter 1, 2 and 3), I have decided to concentrate here on the *nāyakas* appearing in inscriptions in Chingleput District and Madras city.
9. Many of the remaining inscriptions are either merely a record of religious affairs in the temples or are too damaged to offer any useful information.
10. Vēppampaṭṭu has never been referred to in past studies of the Thanjavur nāyakaship.
11. Sewell, *Forgotten Empire* (Indian ed.), pp. 348 and 365.
12. Venkataramanayya, *The Third Dynasty*, p. 22 ff. and Krishnaswami, *Tamil Country under Vijayanagar*, p. 200 ff. Both scholars also detail the career of this *nāyaka* focusing their discussions on his rebellion against Achyutadēvarāya at the beginning of his reign.
13. Two inscriptions (nos. 88 and 90) refer to the *nāyaka*'s improper execution of the king's order, one as the act of Sāḷuva Nāyaka and the other as that of Sāḷuva Krishṇama Nāyaka.
14. Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, Chapter 1, p. 24, Palat criticised this point of view on the basis of the 'exhaustive analysis' of *nāyakas* made by A. Krishnaswami referred to earlier (Palat, 'Structure of Class Control,' p. 58, note 108).
15. I have included here Tirumalai Nāyaka who worked for Veṅkaṭapati, the crown prince, as his *daḷavāy* and agent.

16. Mahalingam, *Administration and Social Life*, pp. 27–33.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
18. Sewll, *Forgotten Empire* (Indian ed.), p. 312.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 260.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 370.
21. See note 15 above.
22. This act of giving merit to the king by *nāyakas* can be interpreted as an expression of their fidelity. See Chapter 1 above.
23. Nuñiz related that the *nāyakas* were never suffered [i.e., permitted] to settle in their territories and that they only went there sometimes (Sewell, *Forgotten Empire*, p. 355).
24. Three inscriptions from Narasamangalam in Cheyyar Taluk dated to A.D. 1638 (*SII*, xxii, 261, 262 and 264), providing information on the history of this family, record the construction of a dam by Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka of no. 146. Another inscription from Tiruppanangadu of the same Taluk dated to A.D. 1642 (*AR* 1923-421) also refers to the same Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka and his younger brother Akkappa Nāyaka.
25. *SII*, i, 43-9 and *AR* 1940-173.
26. Chapter 2 above and Chapter 9 below.
27. This tendency is quite in accord with what I have found for *nāṭṭavars* of other areas. See Chapter 2 above.
28. Stein, 'Vijayanagar c. 1350–1564', p. 105.

II

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS UNDER VIJAYANAGAR RULE

CHAPTER 6

EMERGENCE OF NEW GROUPS OF LANDHOLDERS AND THE CONDITION OF CULTIVATORS

The problems arising from the emergence of new groups of landholders during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and their management of land, are very important for an understanding of the social formation of the Vijayanagar period, but there has been insufficient analysis of them till now. One of the reasons for this is the scanty information on them, but if we examine the inscriptions closely and systematically, some reveal the acquisition of land by non-Brāhmaṇas and their management of the land by employing cultivators such as *aḍimai* (slaves) and *kuḍi* (tenants).

Acquisition of Land by Non-Brāhmaṇas in Ukkal

The later Chola inscriptions found in Tiruchirapalli and Thanjavur Districts often record private transactions of land sale between individuals. This abundance of evidence contrasts with the scanty evidence given in early Chola inscriptions. On this and other grounds I have suggested elsewhere[1] that the communal landholding practised in the early Chola period gave way to individual landholding in the lower Kaveri valley towards the close of Chola rule. In the process of this transition some privileged landholders in the early Chola period, i.e. the Brāhmaṇas, seem to have lost their landed property. In order to clarify the emergence of new groups of individual landholders, I shall examine here seven inscriptions relating to Ukkal, a famous *brahmadēya* (village granted to Brāhmaṇas) of early Chola times in North Arcot District,[2] and one inscription relating to Kaverippakkam, another notable *brahmadēya* of the Chola period in North Arcot District (Map 3).

Of the seven inscriptions which record land sales in Ukkal, five are from Perunagar and two are from Tiruppulivanam, both in Chingleput District. They have been reported in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* (*AR*) 1923, but the texts remain unpublished. The numbers and dates are as follows:

Perunagar inscriptions		*Tiruppulivanam inscriptions*	
Number	Date (A.D.)	Number	Date (A.D.)
350	1382	389	1372
351	1241	390	1374
358	1382		
359	1382		
360	1383		

The earliest inscription (351), which belongs to the reign of Rajaraja III of the Cholas, records that the *mahā-sabhaiyār* (members of *mahā-sabhā* composed of landed Brāhmaṇas) of Ukkal sold an eastern hamlet (*piḍāgai*) called Madaganmēḍu to Paṭṭiyar Pōyan Peruṅgan Dēvapperumāḷ, by means of a village sale (*ūr-vilai-piramāṇam*) for 180 *māḍais*. The purchaser belonged to a village in a division (*kōṭṭam*) different from Kāliyūr-kōṭṭam in which Ukkal was located. His name indicates that he was a non-Brāhmaṇa. The document stipulated that the sale included such items as *nīr-nilam* (wet land), *kollai-nilam* (garden), *ūr-nattam* (residential area of the landholders), *manai* (house), *manai-paḍappai* (land surrounding house), *maram* (tree), *kiṇaṟu* (well), *nīr* (water), *nīrppāychchal* (irrigation), *nīr-pōkku* (flowing water), *vaḻi* (road), *vaḻippōkku* (passage), *kuḷam* (tank) and *karai* (bund), indicating a transfer in the ownership of all land in the village. It further stipulated that (1) the purchaser would be entitled to two-fifths of the right to water in a water channel coming from the river; (2) he could dig another water course if there was insufficient water in the water channel mentioned above; and (3) he would have the right of sale, mortgage, resale, inheritance and donation of this village (hamlet).

The document was written by a *madhyastha* (secretary of *mahā-sabhā*) of Ukkal, and signed by many *bhaṭṭa*s (learned Brāhmaṇas) who are presumed to have been members of the *sabhai*. The transaction was witnessed by several *bhaṭṭa*s and many non-Brāhmaṇas who had the title *uḍaiyān* as a part of their names.[3] The witnesses included several *mūvēndavēḷāns* also. The holders of the title *uḍaiyān* or *kiḻavan* preceded by a village name seem to have had the ownership of some land in that village. The number of *uḍaiyān* title holders increased towards the end of Chola rule

in the latter half of the twelfth century together with *arayan* title holders, indicating the emergence of influential large landholders or local magnates.[4] *Mūvēndavēḷān* is the title bestowed on some important Veḷḷāḷa administrators during the Chola period.[5]

From the description of the village boundaries, we know that another village (hamlet?) called Vīranakkuṟichchi had previously been sold to a group of people headed by Māttūr Pūsandai (a non-Brāhmaṇa name). It is clear from this inscription, therefore, that the proprietorship of some land in Ukkal had already been transferred to non-Brāhmaṇas living in some different locality by the middle of the thirteenth century.

The two inscriptions of Tiruppulivanam (389 and 390) come next chronologically and belong to the reign of Harihara II of Vijayanagar. The contents of the two inscriptions are related. Ins. 389 records that *mahā-sabhaiyār* of Ukkal sold an eastern *piḍāgai* (Arasāṇipālai) of their possession for 600 *paṇams* to a Pallavarayan (an *arayan* title) who was an *uḍaiyān* of a village near the present Kumbakonam in Chōḻamaṇḍalam. In this inscription also, different categories of land, house, water, etc. are specified in the sale. The right to sell, and mortgage the hamlet was also included.

Ins. 390 reveals to us the reason for the sale recorded in the previous inscription and others which we shall examine below. This document is not a record of the sale of land or village, but a promissory note for (cash) payment (*dravya-selavu-kaiyīḍu*) and gives the following information: (1) the *mahā-sabhaiyār* borrowed 350 *paṇams* two years previously from the Pallavarayan who appeared as the purchaser of a *piḍāgai* in ins. 389 to pay the *viniyōgam* (local tax) levied by the ruler of Marudarasar-paḍaivīḍu;[6] (2) they borrowed 150 *paṇams* again the same year in the name of many persons promising to return the amount; (3) again the following year, i.e., the year previous to that of this inscription, a sum of 200 *paṇams* was borrowed. Thus the money borrowed from Pallavarayan amounted to 600 *paṇams*. The *mahā-sabhaiyār* consolidated the debt and gave this promissory note against the amount.

This inscription indicates that the tax burden imposed by the new ruler forced them to sell a hamlet or to borrow money from wealthy people during the latter half of the fourteenth century.[7]

Next come ins. 350 and 359 which have the same date and are closely related to each other in content. Ins. 350 recorded that one of the *sabhaiyār* of Ukkal sold the *kāṇi* right to two of the three

*paṅgu*s (shares) comprising the two northern *piḍāgai* (Ēḷāyirachchēri and Tiruppulittāṅgal) of Ukkal to another Pallavarayan who belonged to a different *kōṭṭam* in the same *maṇḍalam* for 500 *paṇam*s. The two *paṅgu*s sold are stated to have been purchased by the seller from the *sabhaiyār* about a year earlier for 400 *paṇam*s. The boundaries of the two *piḍāgai*s are described and mention is made of different categories of land and water, and also of the rights of sale and mortgage, covered by the sale.

Ins. 359 is a record of the sale of the remaining one *paṅgu* of the two *piḍāgai*s. It was sold by another member of the *sabhā* to the same Pallavarayan who had purchased the other two *paṅgu*s earlier as recorded in ins. 350. This seller also is stated to have purchased the *paṅgu* from *sabhaiyār*, and the purchases of these three *paṅgu*s by the two members of the *sabhā* seem to have been made in the same year, that is in 1382. From these two inscriptions we learn that two hamlets of Ukkal were entirely transferred to the hands of a Pallavarayan resident in a distant locality.

Ins. 358, which has the same date as the previous two inscriptions, recorded the sale by the *mahā-sabhaiyār* of Ukkal of a northern *piḍāgai* (Ittiraippaṭṭu) to some fourteen persons who belonged to Pannaikkarai-nāḍu in a different *maṇḍalaṃ* (Naḍuvil-maṇḍalam) for 400 *paṇam*s. Eight of these fourteen purchasers bear the title *uḍaiyān* preceded by a village name and the remaining six are merely mentioned as belonging to the same family as one of these eight *uḍaiyān* title holders. Three have the *piḷḷai* suffix attached to their name, and therefore we suggest that the fourteen purchasers belonged to non-Brāhmaṇa communities.

Ins. 360, the last one, recorded the sale of two eastern hamlets (Sirunallūr and Somanvāyi) to many individuals who belonged to different *kōṭṭam*s and also to a different *maṇḍalam* (Naḍuvil-maṇḍalam) by four Brāhmaṇas who belonged to the villages in Pāgūr-nāḍu in which Ukkal was located. One Brāhmaṇa belonged to Ukkal and the others to different villages. The *sabhaiyār* of Ukkal do not appear in this document. The two hamlets sold were simply stated to be the *piḍāgai*s possessed by these four Brāhmaṇas (*nāṅgaḷ koṇḍuḍaiyōmāna*) and therefore we are not sure whether these two hamlets were attached to Ukkal or to some other *brahmadēya*s nearby. However, as the names of these two hamlets appear in the description of the boundaries of an eastern *piḍāgai* of Ukkal in ins. 351, we may assume that they belonged to Ukkal.

These two hamlets were divided into eight *paṅgu*s and each of the purchasers, who numbered more than twenty, was allotted a part (a half, one-third or a quarter) of these *paṅgu*s. It seems that no arrangement was made to group the purchasers into *paṅgu*s according to the locality they belonged to; thus, each *paṅgu* was shared by several persons who belonged to different localities. This point is of importance when considering the problem of management of these lands by the new landholders. Different categories of land and water were included, as in other transactions. There is a stipulation which gives purchasers the right to a proportionate share (*viḻukkāḍu*) of water from different sources and also a share in the water of the tanks in Ukkal and Pāgūr (another *brahmadēya* village in the same locality).

Of the more than twenty purchasers, three bear the title *uḍaiyān*, three have *piḷḷai* attached to their names, and one has *mudali* attached to his name.

The above evidence indicates that prosperous Brāhmaṇas who controlled agricultural production as landholders in Ukkal during the early and middle Chola period lost much of their land during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The immediate reason for the sales of land in the fourteenth century was the heavy taxation imposed by the new Vijayanagar rulers, but the decline of Ukkal, once a prosperous *brahmadēya* of the Chola period, should also be viewed in the context of agrarian change, particularly differentiation in agrarian society, which occurred in the Tamil country during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These lands in Ukkal were mostly bought by non-Brāhmaṇas who became the local magnates of the lower Kaveri valley and other regions towards the end of Chola rule.

Brāhmaṇa Landholders in Kaverippakkam

An inscription from Kaverippakkam on the northern bank of the Palar river in North Arcot District (*AR* 1905-392, A.D. 1459) presents a picture of Brāhmaṇas in such distressed conditions that they were practically forced to part with their lands in the middle of the fifteenth century. In contrast to the Brāhmaṇas of Ukkal who sold off their land to others, however, these managed to retain their land by strengthening their solidarity. It recorded the resolution made by *mahā-sabhaiyār* of Vikramachōḷa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam (Kaveri-pakkam) including *baṭṭargaḷ* (*bhaṭṭa*s) and *visishṭargaḷ* (both learned

Brāhmaṇas). For the purpose of defending their rights to the village land composed of 60 *paṅgu*s, the Brāhmaṇas made the following stipulations:

1. The *paṅgu*s of those who have died or migrated to other places shall be distributed among themselves.

2. Taxes in the form of grain shall be paid according to the settlement made with the government.

3. *Viniyōgam* (local tax) shall be paid in proprotion to the number of *paṅgu*s held.

4. Sales, mortgages, gifts or resales of the *paṅgu*s can only be made within the village and among members of the *sabhai* and the village accountants.

5. As the village is very important to us, every effort should be made to redeem houses or garden land purchased by government people (*irājagarattān*).

6. (Though the meaning of this part of the inscription is not clear, it seems to stipulate that) if the Brāhmaṇas fail to persuade the government people to sell the property purchased, they, representing the people of the village, shall buy a house or land (outside the village) to substitute for the one (purchased by the government people in the village).

Although the Brāhmaṇa landholders in Kaverippakkam still retained their land when this inscription was engraved in the middle of the fifteenth century, this unusual resolution itself clearly shows the tendency of priviledged landholders of earlier centuries such as the Brāhmaṇas to lose their land. The people who acquired these lands during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were, according to the Ukkal inscriptions, *arayan* title holders such as Pallavarayans, or *uḍaiyān* title holders who emerged as influential landholders or local magnates in the lower Kaveri valley in the later period of Chola rule, or, according to the Kaverippakkam inscriptions, administrators of the Vijayanagar government who invaded the Tamil country from Karnataka or Andhra Pradesh.

The loosening of the communal ties which had bound earlier landholders not only resulted in the emergence of individual landholders who became economically independent in the later Chola period, but also effected a differentiation among the people of the Brāhmaṇa and Veḷḷāḷa communities, particularly the latter. Local magnates, such as Pallavarayan mentioned above, utilized the

prevailing situation to accumulate landed property. People who had the title *uḍaiyān* or *kiḻavan* preceded by some village name also successfully transformed themselves into new landholders. At the same time, many people from the lower sections of the Veḷḷāḷa community must have lost their right to land and become dependent on others.

This change occurred over a long period extending from the late twelfth century to the fifteenth century or even later in the case of the Tamil country. It was initiated by the economic prosperity attained by the people of the lower Kaveri valley, who increased their wealth under the reigns of able Chola monarchs during the eleventh and twelfth centuries,[8] and was later accelerated by the development of overseas trade during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which shifted the centre of economic growth from the lower Kavery valley to the valleys of the Vellar and Pennai rivers in South Arcot District.[9] However, the invading Vijayanagar armies during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries introduced another element, the oppression of the people, which increased social flux and made the reorganization of the agrarian order necessary. The occurrence of social conflicts in the first half of the fifteenth century in the Tamil country reflected this situation well.[10]

The Condition of Cultivators

Another aspect of the transition from communal to private landholding mentioned earlier concerns the problem of cultivators, which should be studied along with the emergence of new groups of landholders. The change in the landholding system must have resulted in changes in the management of land by its holders. It is rather difficult to ascertain this point, as the information on actual cultivators or agricultural labourers is scanty in inscriptions. However, there are a few Vijayanagar inscriptions which refer to *aḍimais* (slaves) owned by the landholders and others which refer to *kuḍis* (cultivators) who cultivated temple land. By examining those inscriptions I shall discuss the problem of cultivation and management of land by the new landholders.

Aḍimai *(slaves)*

We shall first examine three inscriptions which refer to the transfer of *aḍimais* (slaves). All of them belong to the latter half of the fourteenth century.

The first inscription, from Tiruppalatturai, Tiruchirapalli Taluk, Tiruchirapalli District (*SII*, viii, 590: 1374) recorded the gift of land, house and slaves to a lady and her son by a local magnate. The land given in gift is described as *pirīdi-dānam* (gift of love) and comprised several tracts in a village amounting altogether to 9 and odd *vēli*, a fairly big area. The house was the one in which the lady lived and her son was born. The slaves transferred included three Veḷḷāḷas, consisting of a daughter of a lady among his Veḷḷāḷa slaves (*veḷḷāḷa aḍiyār*), and the wife and son of a Veḷḷāḷa whom he had purchased, and seven Pulaiyar (low *jāti* people like Paṟaiyas) consisting of a husband and his wife, their daughter and four sons. These Pulaiya slaves (*pulai aḍiyār*) are stated to have been labourers in Nangaipuram and were purchased by the donor from an agent of the king who bore the title *arasar* (Telugu form of *araiyan*). The donor had both *araiyan* and *uḍaiyān* titles (Maḻavadaraiyar and Kaḷattūr-uḍaiyān) and seems to have been a local magnate.[11] The fact that many *araiyan* title-holders and the representatives of many communities were signatories to this document also supports the inference. In a later part of the inscription the word *siṟu-pala-veḷḷāṭṭigaḷ* (several low Veḷḷāḷa women) is used for Veḷḷāḷas and *pulai-aḍiyār* (Pulaiya slaves) for Pulaiyas, which may indicate some differences in the status or treatment of these servants according to their communities. However, the fact that Veḷḷāḷas were also owned and transferred individually or as a family appears to be of more significance.

The next inscription, from Tirukkalukkunram in Kanchipuram Taluk, Chingleput District (*AR* 1933-171, A.D. 1388) recorded the sale of some land (3 odd *vēli*) and a house together with three Veḷḷāḷas and sixteen Paṟaiyan slaves (*paṟai aḍiyār*) for 1,560 *paṇam*. The seller was a *kiḻavan* title-holder and the purchaser an *arayan* title holder named Toṇḍanār Kaṇḍarāyar, whose father and grandfather also held *arayan* titles. The purchaser was certainly an influential local magnate, as he also appears in some other inscriptions of this locality as the donor or purchaser of land. The three Veḷḷāḷas are described as *veḷḷāḷa piḷḷaigaḷ* and their names are also given. However, it is difficult to say whether the term *veḷḷāḷa piḷḷaigaḷ* means Veḷḷāḷa servants or persons belonging to Veḷḷāḷa Piḷḷai community. As to the sixteen Paṟaiya slaves, the name of only one representative appears. Though neither the word *veḷḷāḷa aḍimai* nor *veḷḷāḷa aḍiyār* is used, this transaction is described in the middle part of the inscription as

kāṇi-aḍimai-manai-vilai-piramāṇam, which means the sale deed of land, slave and house. Therefore the word *aḍimai* (slave) is applicable to Veḷḷāḷas also.

The last inscription comes from Ratnagiri in Kulittalai Taluk, Tiruchirapalli District (*AR* 1914-170, A.D. 1389) and recorded the sale of four Veḷḷāḷa slaves (*veḷḷān aḍimaigaḷ*) to a Seṭṭi (merchant) by a Brāhmaṇa. The seller had the title of Kulōttunga-chōḷa-piramādarāyan (Brahmarāyan, *arayan* title bestowed on Brāhmaṇas),[12] which indicates that his ancestor was of high status in the Chola bureaucracy. It is stated that he received those slaves from his sister who was the wife of another Brahmarāyan. The names of the four Veḷḷāḷas are given in the honorific plural and therefore their sex is not clear, but they are described as the children (*makkaḷ*) of a certain Sūḍiyār. It is further stipulated that their descendants also should remain the slaves of the purchaser, Nilaiy Seṭṭiyār, who had paid 270 *paṇam*s for them. The fact that this inscription was engraved on a temple wall and that many *bhaṭṭa*s appear as signatories to the document suggest that these slaves were eventually donated to the temple where the inscription is found. In any case, the inscription testifies to the sale of Veḷḷāḷa slaves (*aḍimaigaḷ*).

Among the Vijayanagar inscriptions in the Tamil country that I have come across so far, only these three refer to slaves (*aḍimai*). It is therefore not easy to initiate a general discussion on the condition of slaves at this period, but there are some important points which should be considered here for further studies. First, there are few inscriptions referring to slaves (*aḍimai*), in spite of an abundance of inscriptions recording land transactions. As mentioned above, there are several other inscriptions in which the Kaṇḍarāyan of the second inscription appears as the donor or purchaser of land,[13] but slaves are not mentioned in those transactions. This may cast doubts on the prevalence of slaves being utilized for agricultural labour. It is rather significant that the owners of slaves in those inscriptions are all considered to have been local magnates holding one or two of the titles *arayan*, *āḷvān*, *uḍaiyān* and *kiḻavan*, which may indicate that only big influential landholders could possess slaves. If we consider the fact that some hamlets of Ukkal became the shared property of many landholders coming from different localities, the use of slaves for cultivation by such landholders would not have been practical. Moreover, we have no definite information on the kind of labour slaves performed. Paṟaiyas and Pulaiyas were employed most probably

for the cultivation of land, but Veḷḷāḷas might have been kept for domestic work. This point needs to be clarified by future studies.

Paṟaiyas and other low *jāti* people were employed for agricultural labour during Chola times also.[14] But one thing to notice here is the change in their relations with the landholders who were mostly Brāhmaṇas and Veḷḷāḷas. During the Chola period the references in inscriptions to Paṟaiyas and other low *jāti* people were always made in terms of their residential area like *paṟai-chēri* or otherwise just by their community names, not by their individual capacity. The relations between Brāhmaṇa or Veḷḷāḷa landholders and Paṟaiya and other low *jāti* labourers seem in fact to have been those between communities organized locality-wise, reflecting the strong communal ties which existed in those days. In contrast, their relations during the Vijayanagar period became those of individuals or families, as is evident from the references to their individual or family names in inscriptions. This, combined with the change from communal to private landholdings, made it possible for some wealthy landholders to manage the cultivation of their land by employing a number of Paṟaiya or other low *jāti* slaves. The development of patriarchic slavery to a certain extent in the Tamil country during the fourteenth century may be deduced from this evidence.

Kuḍi *(occupant cultivators)*

Thus at the beginning of the Vijayanagar period we can see the emergence of cultivation by individual landholders with the help of slave labour. However, as suggested above, the prevalence of slave labour for agriculture is not evident. Moreover, all three inscriptions which refer to slaves belong to the latter half of the fourteenth century, reflecting the transition from the social formation of the Chola period to another type established at a later stage of Vijayanagar rule. Some analogy may be found in Japanese history, as many scholars in Japan recognize a certain development of patriarchic slavery in Japan during the transitional period from ancient to medieval times.[15] If slavery did not constitute the base of production during the Vijayanagar period, what was the basic system? The point also requires further study, but we shall briefly discuss it here using inscriptional evidence.

Concerning cultivators other than slaves (*aḍiyār*), the first thing apparent is the appearance of the phrase *kuḍiyum ēṟṟi* (colonizing the land with cultivators) in many inscriptions concerning land

donations to temples or the leasing of temple land. The best example may be found in an inscription of Dēvikāpuram, Arni Taluk, North Arcot District (*AR* 1912-354, A.D. 1507), which recorded the assignment of *uḻavu-kāṇi* (cultivation rights) of a piece of land (*kollai*) by the Dēvikāpuram temple authority to one Samarapūṅgava Dīkshitar who had donated it to the temple to make offerings to the deity. It is stipulated in the inscription that he would settle the cultivators who would come to stay (*vandēṟukiṟa kuḍigaḷaiyum ēṟṟi*) and let them cultivate the land. The cultivators (*kuḍigaḷ*) who would come and settle voluntarily were not to be slaves (*aḍiyār*) owned by other people. In fact, the inscription seems to reveal that a Manṟāḍi called Piḷḷai of Dēvikāpuram was appointed as the cultivator of land assigned to Dīkshitar. Another inscription from the same village (*AR* 1912-389, A.D. 1514), recording a similar assignment of *uḻavu-kāṇi* rights to a *nāyaka* has the phrase 'having reclaimed and colonized the land with cultivators' (*nilamum tirutti kuḍiyum ēṟṟi*).

Cultivators of temple lands are sometimes referred to in inscriptions as *ūravar* (villagers or members of the *ūr* assembly). An inscription from Manampadi in Kanchipuram Taluk, Chingleput District (*AR* 1923-375, A.D. 1419) recorded an agreement between the temple authority and the *ūravar* of a village owned by the temple (*dēvadānam*) concerning the cultivation of areca trees. The villagers (*ūravar*) mentioned in this inscription, who were given the instructions for cultivation by the temple, must have been the cultivators themselves.

A Kanchipuram inscription (*SITI*-389, A.D. 1536, Chingleput District) recorded a similar agreement between the authority of the Varadarāja temple and the people of the temple villages concerning the cultivation of areca, coconut and mango trees and other plants, as well as how the profits made were to be paid to the temple. In this inscription the people of the villages, with whom the temple authority made an agreement, are described as *kuḍigaḷ*.

There are many early Vijayanagar inscriptions which record the 'running away' of *kuḍigaḷ* from some temple villages owing to the oppression of the Vijayanagar invaders.[16] As a result, many temples became unable to conduct proper worship of the deity. The word *kuḍi* (plural *kuḍigaḷ*) can be interpreted in many ways according to the context in which it is used, for example, as 'peasant', 'cultivator', 'tenant', 'family', etc. There is an inscription (*AR* 1944-278, A.D. 1416) at Valikandapuram, Tiruchirapalli District, in which the *kuḍigaḷ* are

grouped into two broad categories, one, *uḻavu-kuḍi*, and the other, *kāsāya-kuḍi*, meaning respectively the *kuḍi* who cultivates, and the *kuḍi* who pays in cash. Kaikkōḷas (weavers) and other artisans or merchants were also certainly referred to as *kuḍi* in inscriptions. However, if we put aside the problem of these *kāsāya-kuḍigaḷ*, otherwise known as *kāsāya-vargattār*,[17] who were artisans and merchants, the picture we get of *kuḍi* from the Vijayanagar inscriptions is one of peasants who occupied and cultivated the land. They were certainly different from the *aḍiyār* or *aḍimai* who were owned by some person and who can be duly referred to as slaves.

If we define the *kuḍi*s of these inscriptions as occupant cultivators of land, the next problem we have to consider is the position those *kuḍi*s held in agrarian society, i.e., what sort of relations they had with the landholders who appear in inscriptions as *kāṇiyāḷar*. Though it is not easy to verify, there must have been many *kuḍi*s who paid taxes directly to the government, having no intermediary landholders between them and the state. In that case they were independent peasants who held land themselves, like the *uḻ-kuḍi*s described by the British administrators in the nineteenth century.[18] They may have employed *aḍimai* labour to some extent, but the *kuḍigaḷ* who cultivated temple land under the direction of a temple authority as we have seen above, were nothing more than occupant cultivators or tenants.[19] We have seen above that local magnates employed slaves (*aḍimai*) for cultivation of their land, but such big landholders must also have rented a great part of their land to occupant cultivators or tenants (*kuḍigaḷ*) because of the difficulty of managing slave labour on their vast and intricately located estates.

At this stage, it is difficult to say anything definite about the ratio of these two types of land management, namely land rented out to tenants for cultivation, and land both owned and cultivated by independent peasants. However, if we consider the occurrence of an open revolt by the direct producers, including cultivators, against landholders (*kāṇiyāḷar*) and the government in a large area of the Tamil country in the first half of the fifteenth century (Chapter 8), the larger proportion of land in the Tamil country probably was in the hands of landholders (*kāṇiyāḷar*) who rented it to occupant cultivators (*kuḍigaḷ*). Of course, the actual situation was not as simple as this. There was slavery also, though it seems to have remained a subsidiary system of production as I have suggested above. Moreover, there must have been many occupant cultivators who both

cultivated land possessed by others and possessed smaller tracts of land for their own cultivation as *kāṇiyāḷar*. Tenants similar to the *para-kuḍi*s (*puṟa-kuḍi*s) of the British period,[20] who did not have occupancy rights to land, may also have existed at that time, but remained different from slaves. This point, however, needs to be clarified. Differing ecological conditions must also have caused some variation in the management of land by its holders.

Conclusion

From the above, broadly speaking we can recognize three types of land management during the Vijayanagar period. They are 1) landholders renting their land to occupant cultivators; 2) landholders cultivating their own land; and 3) landholders employing slave labour for cultivation. Though there must have been variations and combinations of them also, we may say tentatively from the above that the first type probably constituted the basic relations of production that prevailed in the Tamil country during the Vijayanagar period, the other two being subsidiary to the first.

NOTES

1. Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, Chapters 1 and 2.
2. There remain in a Śiva temple in Ukkal 14 inscriptions (*SII*, iii, 1-14) which record various activities of the *mahā-sabhā* of Ukkal. Three committees of the *mahā-sabhā*, i.e., those of annual, tank and garden, appear in those inscriptions as controlling land and production. As to the history of Ukkal, see Minakshi, *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, Madras, 1938.
3. For *uḍaiyān* title holders, see Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, pp. 57 and 58.
4. For discussion of this point, see *ibid.*, Chapter 2, Section I and Chapter 3, Section II.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 58–60.
6. Marudarasar-Paḍaivīḍu in present North Arcot District was one of the centres of the Vijayanagar regiment stationed to rule the Tamil country. For the *nāyaka*s' activities there, see Chapter 7 below.
7. The tax burden imposed on the people of the Tamil country by new Vijayanagar rulers during the 14th and 15th centuries has been studied in

Chapters 8 and 11 below.

8. Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, pp. 20, 21, 29 and 30.
9. As to the shift of the area of economic growth, see Chapter 11 below.
10. Chapter 8 below.
11. In the lower Pennai valley in South Arcot District there are five 15th-century inscriptions which record the granting of some privileges to Kaikkōḷas in that area by a *nāyaka*. According to the inscriptions, the *nāyaka* sent for local magnates who had titles such as Koṅgarāyan, Chēdirāyan, Gaṅgarāyan, Kachchirāyan, and Maḻavarāyan, and instructed them to execute the order. See Chapter 9 below.
12. For the title *brahmarāyan*, see Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, pp. 58–60.
13. *AR* 1933-172 and 174.
14. In a Thanjavur inscription of Rājarāja I (*SII*, ii, 5) the expression *uḻappaṟayar-irukkum-kīḻaichchēri* (a western residential area for the Paṟaiyas who cultivate) appears in reference to a village granted to the Thanjavur temple.
15. Nagahara, *Nihon Keizaishi*, Tokyo, 1980, Chapters 3 and 4.
16. Examples include the following three South Arcot inscriptions of the first half of the 15th century: *AR* 1913-376 (Chidambaram), *AR* 1921-476 (Tiruvennainallur) and *AR* 1938-491 (Elavanasur).
17. *SITI*-475 (Tirukkalukkunram), *SITI*-506 (Vellicaikullatur) and *AR* 1913-2 (Periyakorukkai).
18. For *uḷ-kuḍis* of the British period, see Firminger, *The Fifth Report*, pp. 830 and 831 and also Wilson's *Glossary*.
19. The people of a village whose revenue was granted to a temple, were not themselves exempt from payment; their taxes were paid directly to the temple instead of to the government. We find such cases in Chola inscriptions. For example, we find in a Thanjavur inscription that remote villages in Sri Lanka had had their revenue granted to the Thanjavur temple by Rājarāja I. The Vijayanagar inscriptions suggest, however, that most temples were granted the proprietorship (*kāṇi*) of the land or villages, hence the right to the management of land also. However, further studies are required on this point.
20. *Para-kuḍis* are referred to in many places in Firminger, *The Fifth Report* (for example, see pp. 104 and 829). See also Wilson's *Glossary*.

CHAPTER 7

NĀYAKAS AND MERCHANTS AS LEASE-HOLDERS OF TEMPLE LANDS

Tamil inscriptions of Vijayanagar times often record the lease of temple lands to individuals or institutions on certain conditions. The abundance of such evidence during the Vijayanagar period is evident even from a glance at the contents of the *Annual Report on (South) Indian Epigraphy*, which leads us to infer that the lease system was probably of importance among the various systems of land tenure prevailing in the Vijayanagar empire.

So far, however, no detailed study of such leases has been attempted. I wish to examine here thirteen Devikapuram inscriptions which record such leases in North Arcot District, and four Tirukkoyilur inscriptions recording the same in South Arcot District, and in doing so, I shall try to place the problem in the wider context of the land system and control of land attempted by both the central and local powers.

Dēvikāpuram

For Dēvikāpuram we have thirteen inscriptions which record the lease of temple land; nos. 35–24, 365, 372, 373, 375, 387 and 389 of the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy 1912*. The dates of these inscriptions span within about thirty years in the first half of the sixteenth century, i.e., A.D. 1507–48.[1]

Several groups and individuals appear in these inscriptions as the authorities who leased out temple land. They are: *tānattār*, *māhēśvarar*, *tānamāhēśvarar*, *gurukkaḷ* and *kaikkōḷa-mudaligaḷ*. The individuals are Īsānasivāchārya[2] and Visvēsvarasivāchārya, both of whom belonged to Bhikshā maṭha of Dēvikāpuram and are stated to be responsible for the finances of the temple.

Though we do not know the interrelation of these groups, one thing is clear: that when the *tānamāhēśvarar* is mentioned in the inscriptions as one of the authorities who transacted the lease, the *tānattār* or *māhēśvarar* do not appear. The *tānamāhēśvarar*, therefore, may have consisted of *tānattār* and *māhēśvarar* together, or may have combined in one body the functions of the two.

As our present concern is with lease-holders and not the temple organization, we shall simply treat these groups as representatives of the temple and shall not go into details concerning them.

As for lease-holders, the first thing we notice on reading the thirteen inscriptions is that five of the thirteen recipients of the land were *nāyaka*s. They are: Tirumalai Nāyaka (352), Sadāsiva Nāyaka (353), Koniappa Nāyaka (369), ...siva Nāyaka (387) and Namassivāya Nāyaka (389). In the Dēvikāpuram temple inscriptions which record the donation of land and other items yet other *nāyaka*s appear as the donors. Many of these *nāyaka*s who appear in the Dēvikāpuram inscriptions are mentioned as 'belonging to the regiment of Kannaḍiya *nāyaka*s who stay in Ṃarudarasar-Paḍaivīḍu'. Marudarasar seems to be the title of some high officer, and Paḍaivīḍu, literally the residence of the army, may well be identified with the present Padavedu some thirty kilometres north-west of Devikapuram. We may conclude that these *nāyaka*s were sent from the Kannada country (the central region of the empire) to govern this region.

We may also trace the relationship between these *nāyaka*s and the central power. In one inscription (395), Tirumalai Nāyaka is stated to be the agent of Narasā Nāyaka of the Tuḷuva dynasty (regent of the last king of the Sāḷuva dynasty) and in another (355), Īsvara Nāyaka, a brother of Tirumalai Nāyaka, is also said to be his agent. However, all these *nāyaka*s need not necessarily have a direct link with the central power. For example, Koṇḍama Nāyaka, residing at Serruppattu,[3] is said in one of the inscriptions (374) to have endowed a certain shepherd's family to the Dēvikāpuram temple with the permission of Kāḷattīsura Nāyaka, who was ruling Paḍaivīḍu-sīrmai, and who is said in yet another inscription (356) to be a son of the Tirumalai Nāyaka mentioned above. Similarly, Nayinappa Nāyaka is mentioned in some inscriptions (381 and 383) of the Dēvikāpuram temple as the agent of Mallappa Nāyaka, who is thought to have belonged to Marudarasar-Paḍaivīḍu. Thus we notice a difference of grade among *nāyaka*s in relation to the central power, as suggested earlier.[4]

Two inscriptions record cases in which the lands were taken by institutions, a Siva temple established by Tirumalai Nāyaka in a village which was a *dēvadāna* of Dēvikāpuram temple (373), and a *maṭhā* which was located in another *dēvadāna* village of the same temple (375).

In all other cases the lands were leased out to individuals who

were not *nāyakas*. They are: a *manṟāḍi* (shepherd) who lived in Dēvikāpuram (354), a *vidvān* (scholar) who came from Āṟṟuvānapāḍi (365), a man who influenced the king Krishṇadēvarāya to grant a village to Dēvikāpuram temple (366), a certain Ambalattāḍiyār (367), another *manṟāḍi* of Dēvikāpuram (368), and a certain Tiruppaṇivāsuvana-uḍaiyār, who seems to have had some connection with temples, judging from his name (372).

In all these cases the object of the lease is land, but in several cases houses are also leased together with land.

As for the nature of the land, in six inscriptions the leased lands are referred to as *tāṅgal*, 'Murugamaṅgalam naruvili-tāṅgal' for example. Though *tāṅgal* is usually taken to be a pond used for irrigation,[5] in these inscriptions it evidently means some class or type of land itself. In two inscriptions (373 and 387) it is stated to include both *nañjey* (wetland) and *puñjey* (dryland). *Tāṅgal* in these inscriptions seems to have been the land around or beneath the irrigation pond. In other cases, the land is referred to simply as *nañjey* or *puñjey* or wasteland.

The area of land is mentioned in some cases; for instance '500 *kuḻi*' (354), '*nañjey* 1,000 *kuḻi* and *puñjey* 500 *kuḻi*'[6] (365), '*puñjey* 500 *kuḻi* and *nañjey* 500 *kuḻi*' (366) and '*puñjey* 750 *kuḻi*' (369). From these references we gather that the area of the leased land was in most cases between 500 and 1,500 *kuḻi*, the average being about 1,000 *kuḻi*.[7] The lands were scattered in ten villages, of which five are known to have been located near Dēvikāpuram.

Seven inscriptions record that houses (in one case two houses and in the others, one house) were also leased out. In two cases it is known that the houses were situated in the villages where the leased lands lay, but in four cases the houses were in Dēvikāpuram itself. Probably owning a house in Dēvikāpuram gave prestige to the donee.

What rights did the lease-holder obtain and what conditions were there on these leases? In all the inscriptions, it is stated that the land was handed over as *kāṇi*. To be more exact, in four cases it is described as *kāṇi-āṭchi*, in three cases as *kāṇi-paṟṟu*, and in six cases as *uḻavu-kāṇi-āṭchi*. *Kāṇi* generally means 'right' and *āṭchi*, *paṟṟu* and *uḻavu* mean 'holding', 'acquiring' and 'cultivation' respectively. Though in seven cases the word *uḻavu* does not appear, there seems to be no substantial difference in content between the six which have this word and the seven which do not. Therefore

we may infer that in these thirteen cases the receivers of temple lands obtained the right of cultivation.[8]

In five inscriptions, this right is stated to be enjoyed also by descendants of the recipient (in the case of the *maṭhā* by the disciple who succeeds the *guru*) and in two inscriptions (368 and 387) *kāṇi* is stated to be given with the eight kinds of right (*ashṭabhōgam*) on land, which comprised the right of sale, transfer, exchange, etc. It will be understood, therefore, that the right granted was hereditary and well protected.

Some of the inscriptions contain phrases which refer to reclamation of land. No. 353 has the phrase 'reclaiming pond, bank and land'. Similarly, such expressions as 'digging a pond' (3 cases), 'reclaiming fields' (2 cases), and 'digging a well' (1 case) are also seen.

As for the crops to be cultivated, in six inscriptions, the phrase 'cultivating the necessary crops' appears. And referring to cultivators, seven inscriptions have phrases such as 'colonizing the land with the cultivator (*kuḍiyum ēṟṟi*)'. In one case (354), the exact expression is 'colonizing the land with the cultivators who will come to reside', and in another (368) 'colonizing the land with the necessary cultivator'. This mention of colonization clearly indicates that the receivers of land were not the cultivators themselves, and the same is also to be inferred from the fact that many of the recipients were *nāyaka*s or officers, who could not themselves be cultivators of the land they received. The expression 'cultivators (*kuḍigaḷ*) who will come to reside' leads us to infer that these cultivators were not mere labourers hired for wages but people who had some rights over the land as tenants. It is not clear whether or not the land had already been colonized in the case in which the phrase about colonization does not appear, but that might have been the case.

In nearly all the thirteen inscriptions a certain amount of paddy or money or both, are mentioned, with the enumeration of tax terms, which the lease-holders had to pay into the temple treasury. Though it is not easy to understand the meaning of these tax terms, if we examine this portion of the inscriptions closely, we can tell what was to be paid to the temple by lease-holders and thus will comprehend the substantial meaning of these leases.

In seven inscriptions, a large number of tax terms are enumerated, and in one case (354) the number of terms exceeds forty. It is very difficult, as mentioned above, to speak about or categorize the nature of these taxes, but all seven cases have the terms *kaḍamai*, *paḻavari*

and *puduvari*, and also at least two of the following the terms *kāṇikkai*, *kaṭṭāyam* and *mugampārvai*. In four cases, all these three terms appear. Thus a considerable number of important taxes are listed,[9] and since the fixed amount which is stipulated to be paid to the temple treasury is described as the payment in respect of these tax items,[10] it seems that the temple collected from lease-holders almost the whole of the taxes imposed on the land by the central government and also by local authorities.

What, then, was the profit gained by the temple which leased out these lands? We may recall in this context the common belief of scholars that temple lands were exempted from heavy taxation, if not from all taxes,[11] and that temples usually enjoyed the major portions of the state taxes on the lands donated to them, which were otherwise to be sent to the government.[12] In fact, one of the present thirteen inscriptions (365) is itself quite suggestive of this. There it is stated that the land was leased to a certain scholar as *iṟaiyili*, that is, exempt from tax. At the same time, however, it is stipulated that the very temple which leased out the land was to be responsible for the payment of *kāṇikkai*,[13] which heads several tax terms. From this we may well infer that Dēvikāpuram temple had to send the *kāṇikkai* imposed on the leased land to the government, but that it was allowed to enjoy the other taxes, including *kaḍamai*, which was the major item of revenue.

If that is the case, the lease-holder on the other hand seems to have enjoyed whatever remained in his hands after remitting to the temple treasury the amount equivalent to government taxes and also paying the necessary amount to the cultivators (*kuḍigaḷ*).

We may conclude as follows: the lands of Dēvikāpuram temple were leased out to certain people, including five *nāyaka*s and two institutions. The lands were cultivable and the area of each averaged about 1,000 *kuḻi*. The right given to lease-holders was that of cultivation, and they were allowed to reclaim the land by digging ponds and wells, and to plant whatever crops they wanted. The lease-holders, however, do not seem to have cultivated the land themselves but apparently brought in cultivators to do the work. They probably sent to the temple treasury an amount of paddy or money or both, which was more or less equivalent to government taxes and enjoyed the rest of the produce, though they had to give some amount to the cultivators also. If we further take into consideration the fact that these leases were hereditary and that

in transactions they were granted the rights of sale, mortgage, etc. beside the right of cultivation, these lease-holders may well be regarded as having been the actual owners or lords of the leased lands.

The significance of the fact that five *nāyaka*s appear in these inscriptions as lease-holders allows us to see these leases in the wider context of the state economy and politics. It is generally believed that in the heyday of the Vijayanagar empire *nāyaka*s were placed under the full control of the central power. The territory over which they could claim lordship was limited, and they had to send to the central government a third of the revenue of their assigned territory, and besides this they had to maintain from their income certain armed forces for the King.[14] In this and other ways the central government was careful not to let the *nāyaka*s grow too powerful. Nevertheless, in the later period of the empire, some *nāyaka*s became remarkably powerful. One reason for this must have been the political situation of the time, namely the pressure of invasion from the kingdoms to the north of Vijayanagar and the subsequent decline of the central authority. Another reason, however, seems to have been the system of leasing temple land, by which local chiefs such as the *nāyaka*s could increase their income. The links between the *nāyaka* and the locality governed must have been greatly strengthened by this system.

Tirukkōyilūr

For Tirukkoyilur we have four inscriptions which record the lease of temple lands. They are nos. 313, 321, 325 and 333 of *AR* 1921, all of which date to the sixteenth century.[15] In no. 313, the temple authority is described as Sēnaimudaliyār (deity as the manager of a Vaishṇava temple) and in the other three, *srī-paṇḍārattār* (temple treasurers). We can treat both of them as the temple authority, though they differ from those appearing in the Devikapuram inscriptions.

The lease-holders in the Tirukkoyilur inscriptions are described in no. 313 as Timmayya Aṇṇa, an officer (*vāsal*), who served Sūrappa Nāyaka who was probably a Gingee *nāyaka*, and in the other three as Gōpāla Cheṭṭis (cattle merchants) coming from Kāñchīpuram and residing in Tiruveṇṇainallūr (321 and 333) and Āṭkoṇḍanallūr (325). The Gōpāla Cheṭṭi appearing in nos. 321 and 333 is the same individual. These two villages, Tiruveṇṇainallūr and Āṭkoṇḍanallūr,

are located about fifteen kilometres south of Tirukkoyilur.

As for the land leased from the Tirukkōyilūr temple, it is very different from that of the Dēvikāpuram temple. In contrast to rather small extents —just some plots in a village— in the Dēvikāpuram inscriptions, the lands leased out from the Tirukkōyilūr temple are entire villages: in no. 313, a village called Puttūr, in no. 325, Kunṟattūr, in no. 333, Sīdaipiḍāram, and in no. 321, three villages called Tōraṇam, Māvēndal-māṇikkanayinārēndal and Iraiūrampattu.[16] Though we do not know the actual extent of those villages, they are stated to be inclusive of *puñjey* and *nañjey* in all the four inscriptions, and of *ēndal* (land below a tank) also in no. 321.

The rights obtained by lease-holders can safely be identified with *kāṇiyāṭchi* since the deeds given are described in no. 313 as *kāṇippaṟṟu-srīmugam* (deed of assignment of *kāṇi*) and in nos. 321, 325 and 333 as *kāṇivilai-piramāṇam* (sale-deed of *kāṇi*). In no. 313 it is further stipulated that the person who obtained the *kāṇi* right can raise any crops he likes on the *nañjey* and *puñjey* land within the boundary of the village, and we can safely infer that it is the same as the *kāṇi* right of the Dēvikāpuram inscriptions. Unlike Dēvikāpuram, however, lease-holders obtained their *kāṇi* rights by payment of money. The officer in no. 313 paid 150 *pon* for three villages, the Gōpāla Cheṭṭi in no. 325 paid 10 *pon* for one village, and the one in no. 333 paid 10 *pon* for another. The *kāṇi* rights they thus acquired are stated to be hereditary in all cases as in Dēvikāpuram.

In return for their enjoyment of various kinds of lands and privileges (*suvandiram*) in the village as the *kāṇi*-right-holder of the village, it is stipulated in nos. 321, 325 and 333 that they should pay yearly to the temple treasury (*kōyil paṇḍāram*) some fixed amount of money (37 *pon*, 8 *pon* and 6 *pon* respectively) inclusive of *pon-mudal* (assessment in gold) and *nel-mudal* (assessment in paddy). In no. 313 also there is a stipulation that a fixed amount of money (100 *pon*) should be paid as *rēkai* to the temple by the lease-holder. In connection with this yearly payment to the temple, such taxes are mentioned as inclusive of *kaḍamai*, *kāṇikkai*, *pon-mudal*, *pala-pon-vargam*, *nel-mudal* and *dāniya-vargam*, and the argument advanced earlier for the sharing of produce by the government, temples, lease-holders and cultivators holds good for the Tirukkoyilur cases too. In these inscriptions, however, we find particular terms indicating 'the fixed amount': they are *vāḍā-oṭṭu* in nos. 321, 325

and 333, and *kuttagai* in no. 313. This practice of fixing the yearly payment in the gross instead of dividing the produce proportionately between the temple and the lease-holder, which seems to have become the custom in the later Vijayanagar period, is of significance since the lease-holder could procure more profits by this fixed-amount lease system.

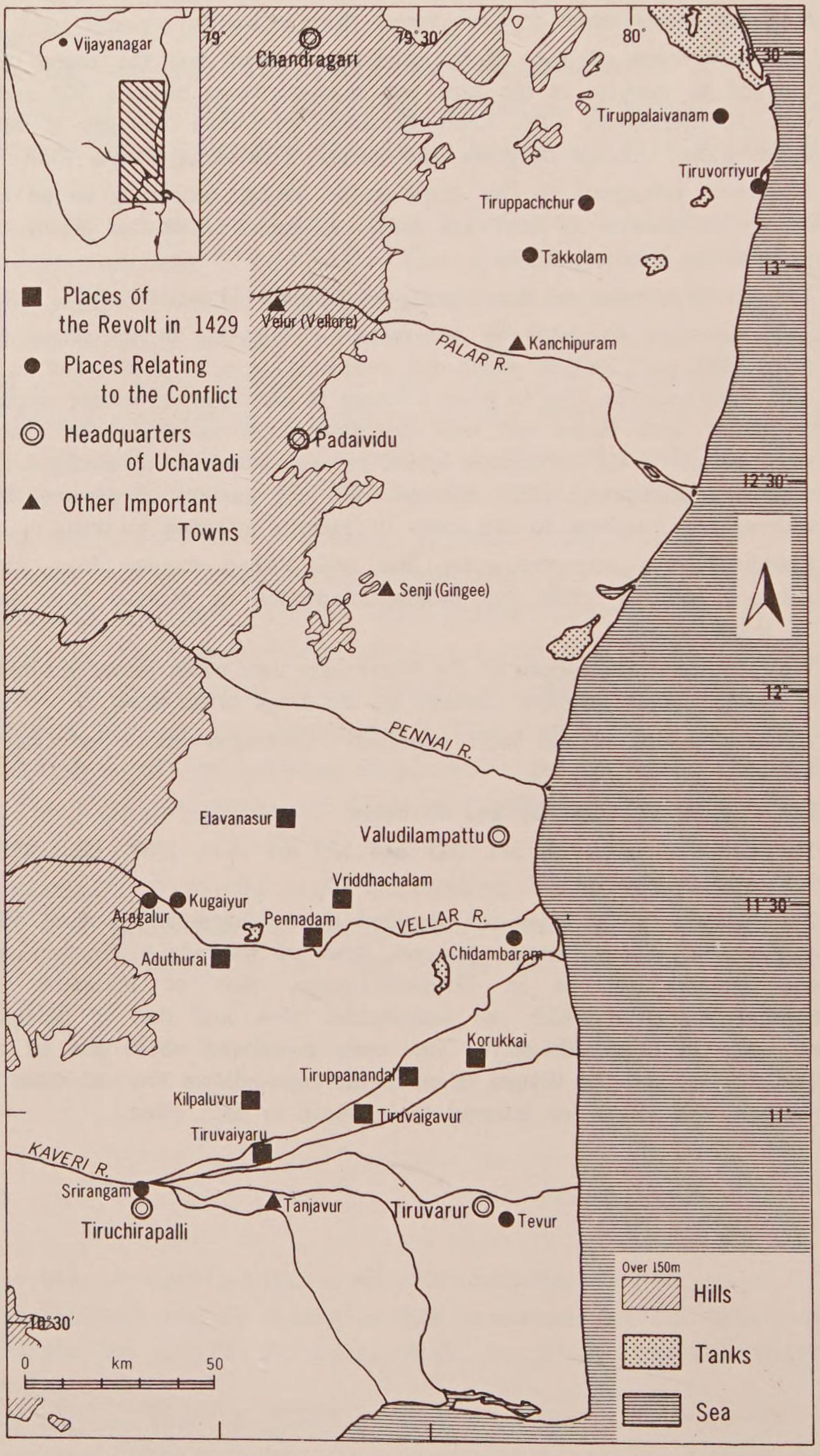
As already seen, there are some differences between the leases of Dēvikāpuram and Tirukkōyilūr. For example, in Dēvikāpuram no payment seems to have been necessary to acquire *kāṇi* rights, or at least no mention is made of it, but in Tirukkōyilūr it was evidently necessary. A larger number of tax items are enumerated in the Dēvikāpuram inscriptions in relation to the yearly payment by lease holders, but only representative ones are referred to in Tirukkoyilur inscriptions. We do not find, however, any fundamental difference between the two cases. Though *nāyaka*s' appearence is not so conspicuous as in Devikapuram inscriptions, an agent of a *nāyaka* does appear in one of the Tirukkoyilur inscriptions. However, regarding the Tirukkoyilur inscriptions we may add another important fact, i.e., the appearance of merchants (Cheṭṭis) as lease-holders in them, which focuses our attention on the development of commerce and industry, and the growing importance and power of merchants during the Vijayanagar period. This point will be discussed in Chapter 10 below.

An examination of the lease inscriptions of other localities would improve our knowledge of the growing power of the *nāyaka*s and also of the emergence of new types of landholders, like the merchants.

NOTES

1. The texts of these inscriptions are still unpublished.
2. Isānasivāchārya was an *āchārya* of high reputation. See *AR* 1924, para 50.
3. Probably the present Settupattu, which lies 12 kilometres south-east of Devikapuram.
4. See Chapters 1 and 5 above.
5. According to T. N. Subramaniam 'pond used for irrigation' (*SITI*, vol. III, pt.ii, Epigraphical Glossary); and according to the *Tamil Lexicon* 'pond from which water is irrigated for paddy field, much smaller than a tank'.

6. A land measure. Though it is often quoted as equivalent to 144 square feet, the extent seems to have varied from region to region.
7. An examination of the Chola inscriptions shows that the extent of land donated to temples at the time was in most cases between 500 and 2,000 *kuḻi*. N. Karashima, 'The Land Donation to Hindu Temples in Medieval South India', *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 2, Tokyo, 1969.
8. Moreover, references to the crops to be raised, cultivators to be brought in, or reclamation of land are found in some inscriptions which do not contain the word *uḻavukāṇi*.
9. For the importance of these taxes, see Chapter 11 below.
10. The remaining six cases do not furnish a long list of tax terms. In two cases (365 and 366) in which the recipients were a *vidvān*, and a person who influenced the king to grant a village to Dēvikāpuram temple respectively, the lands were leased out with exemption from taxes. In one case (387) the portion of the inscription which records the taxes is damaged. In the remaining inscriptions (367, 369 and 372) the amount of payment is fixed without any reference to tax terms or scarcely referring to them.
11. Krishṇadēvarāya exempted many Śiva and Vishṇu temples from *jōḍi* and *sūlavari*, both of which are usually interpreted as nominal taxes imposed on temple lands.
12. We have many inscriptions of the Vijayanagar time which record the remission of certain taxes, including *kaḍamai* by the kings or *nāyakas*.
13. *Kāṇikkai* is one of the most important Vijayanagar taxes. See Chapter 11 below.
14. See Chapter 11, notes 88 and 89 below.
15. The dates of nos. 313, 321, 325 and 333 are A.D. 1567, 1521, 1522 and 1521 respectively.
16. The location of Puttūr is not specified in the inscription, that of Tōraṇam is mentioned as in Peṇṇai-vaḍa-karai, those of Māvēndal-māṇikkanayinārēndal and Iraiūranpaṭṭu as in Siṅgamūlai-paṟṟu, that of Kuṉṟattūr as in Siṟṟiṅgūr-paṟṟu, in which the lease-holder lives, and that of Sīdaipiḍāram as again in Siṅgamūlai-paṟṟu. The areas mentioned above are all around Tirukkoyilur, and the villages in which the lease-holders live and those leased out are thus known or inferred to be close to each other.



Map 4 Conflict in agrarian society during the fifteenth century

CHAPTER 8

THE UPRISING OF THE VALAṅGAI / IḌAṅGAI GROUPS: CONFLICT IN AGRARIAN SOCIETY

There are several inscriptions from Aduthurai and other places in Tiruchirapalli, South Arcot and Thanjavur Districts in Tamilnadu (Map 4), which record the revolt of the Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai groups[1] against Brāhmaṇa and Veḷḷāḷa landlords and also the government. Nilakanta Sastri, referring to the inscription at Aduthurai, writes, 'The ninety eight sub-sects of the Iḍaṅgai are again mentioned in a later inscription from Āduturai, which records the hardships to which these sub-sects were exposed at the hands of the Vaṉṉiya tenants and the Brāhmaṇa and Veḷḷāḷa landlords, backed by government officials'.[2] Vanamamalai, who recognized the social implications of this record, emphasized its importance in terms of the anti-feudal struggle of the time, and wrote: 'An inscription found at Aduthurai reports the following: The Brahmins, with the help of the officers of the crown and the Vaṉṉiyas, wrought untold injustice on the people of 96 castes [sic] of the Iḍaṅgai group (castes who were engaged in agriculture by contributing their labour). It also enumerated the taxes the local village Sabha proposed to levy on them with the consent of the representative of the king, Mooventhavelan. A mass meeting of 96 castes decided not to pay any tax levied by the Sabha and the king's officers. This reminds us of the no-tax campaign of recent memory. Such decisions of the Iḍaṅgai castes are brought to light by many more inscriptions'.[3]

However, the date of the Aduthurai inscription was not correctly assigned by either Nilakanta Sastri or the epigraphist, and Vanamamalai in turn took it to belong to the Chola period. Though other inscriptions which have a similar content and come from Kil-paluvur, Pennadam, Vriddhachalam and Korukkai were correctly dated by epigraphists to the fifteenth century, the identical nature of these inscriptions seems to have been overlooked by Nilakanta Sastri and others.

D. N. Jha, who made a survey of past studies on Indian feudalism, again emphasized the importance of this Aduthurai inscription, depending for his argument on the data given by Vanamamalai, and consequently repeated the mistake. He treated this struggle as having

occurred in the thirteenth century and considered it as reflecting a crisis of feudalism.[4]

Recently Subbarayalu corrected this mistake by pointing out the identical contents of these inscriptions.[5] Since then, we have investigated almost all the inscriptions of the same period in the districts of Chingleput, North Arcot, South Arcot, Tiruchirapalli, Thanjavur and Pudukkottai and have discovered more inscriptions relating to this struggle.

Here, therefore, we shall examine all the inscriptions which relate to this conflict as described in the Aduthurai inscription and try to clarify its characteristics.

The Uprising

There are 9 inscriptions, including that of Aduthurai, which are closely related to each other. Of these, four inscriptions which have the same date and almost the same content,[6] are summarised in their own words as follows:

1. We, the people belonging to Valaṅgai 98 and Iḍaṅgai 98 of Vaḷudilampaṭṭu-uchāvaḍi,[7] assembled in this temple in full strength and let the following be engraved on the wall of said temple.

2. In this *maṇḍalam* (Vaḷudilampaṭṭu), even if the *uchāvaḍi pradhāni* (the local Vijayanagar governor), Vaṉṉiyar (military people) and *jīvitakkārar* (holders of official tenure) coerce us, or the Brāhmaṇa and Veḷḷāḷa *kāṇiyāḷar* (holders of *kāṇi* right)[8] try to oppress us in collusion with the *irājagarattār* (government officers), we shall never submit to such oppression.

3. If there appears any single person among us who helps the intruders, betrays us, violates the grant given by Chikkarasar,[9] or destroys the (current) measuring rod, we shall assemble as of today and enquire into it.

4. Among those who were born in this *maṇḍalam*, no one should write accounts (for the government), let others write the accounts or collude with the government officers and *jīvitakkārar*s. If there appears one such person, we shall degrade him in the caste hierarchy.

The following points are clear from the above: First, the inscription is the resolution reflecting a bond of unity among the Valaṅgai 98 and Iḍaṅgai 98 groups[10] of the Vaḷudilampaṭṭu area. Second, they suffered from the oppression of the local Vijayanagar governor, the

military people and the holders of official tenure. Third, *kāṇiyāḷar* among the Brāhmaṇas and Veḷḷāḷas also oppressed them with the help of the local governor and others. Fourth, they decided not to submit to the oppression and resolved to defend the rights they had been enjoying. Finally, some measure was contemplated to deal with persons who violated this resolution.

Examination of the remaining five inscriptions enables us to understand better the nature of the oppression they suffered.

An Elavanasur inscription,[11] which comes next chronologically, and belongs to the same locality as the four described above, has a somewhat different character and gives some more information. It does not record the resolution of the Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai groups alone, but also the points for the tax payment decided by the people of the *maṇḍalam* including Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai groups, *sabhaiyār* and *tānattār*.[12] It could be an agreement made between the Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai groups on the one hand, and the *sabhaiyār* and *tānattār* on the other, or as a joint resolution of these two parties.

The inscription states that the people of the *maṇḍalam* were oppressed by the *irājagarattār* and *jīvitakkārar*, and that while paying tax to the government, they should pay as per the old custom, namely giving grain (paddy) for the imposition of grain, paying cash for the imposition of cash,[13] and paying for *kāṇikkai* one *paṇam* per *mā* of cultivated field. It is also stated that they need not pay such taxes as *nallerudu*, *naṟpasu*, *naṟkiḍā*, *jōḍi*, *viniyōgam*, *norelai-kāṇikkai* and *kudirai-kāṇikkai*,[14] and that no new item other than that stipulated in the inscription should be levied on the *taṟi* of the Kaikkōḷas.[15]

In this inscription it is the Brāhmaṇas and Veḷḷāḷas who were forbidden to help or yield to the intruders. The other points are that nobody should take others' *kāṇi* land as *māniyam* (tax-free land) or take it as his *jīvitam* over and above his own *kāṇi* land, and that the *jīvitakkārar* should not force the *ūravar*[16] to cultivate land in the village against their wishes.

It is clear from the above that the cause for the uprising was unjust tax collection by government officers and official tenure holders, secondly, misappropriation of the *kāṇi* land by the same people, and finally, coercion of the *ūravar* by officials to cultivate the latter's land.

The remaining four inscriptions come from the inter river region between the Kollidam and Kaveri rivers and seem to have almost

the same content, though some crucial passages cannot be deciphered owing to some of those inscriptions being damaged. Three of those inscriptions, from Korukkai, Tiruvaigavur and Tiruvaiyaru,[17] record the resolution or agreement made by the three bodies of *sabhā*, Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai. In the Tiruvaigavur and Tiruvaiyaru inscriptions, the three bodies are stated to belong to Srī-parāntaka-nāḍu and Poykaināḍu-ten-kāl respectively, but in the Korukkai inscription it is not clear to which region (*nāḍu*) the three bodies belonged, the inscription being damaged.

The Korukkai inscription provides the following information: as the people (Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai groups) of the *maṇḍalam* had suffered so much, they thought of running away; but, inspired by some agreements that had been made in other places,[18] they realized that their weakness was a lack of unity, and therefore they assembled; and decided that in the region between the two rivers no land including *kōyil-paṟṟu* (temple lands), *agara-paṟṟu* (Brāhmaṇa's lands), *paṇḍāravāḍai* (taxable lands) and *jīvita-paṟṟu* (official tenure) should be treated as *aḍaippu-nibatti* (assignment?), *kuttagai* (lease) or *sērvai* (that which is added?); and finally, that for measuring land the 14-foot rod of the king should be used.

After stating these things it stipulates the rates and the way in which taxes should be paid by cultivators and people of other professions in great detail.

From the Tiruvaigavur inscription, the following details are known: that they followed the precedent of Vaḷudilampaṭṭu-uchāvaḍi in their way of paying taxes to the government; that since the commencement of Kannaḍiga rule (of the Vijayanagar dynasty), their territory became the possession of the *jīvitakkārar* and they were unjustly taxed, and the land unjustly leased; and that it was resolved that in that *nāḍu* land such as *iṟaiyilippaṟṟu* (tax-free land), *paṇḍāravāḍai* and *jīvitappaṟṟu* should not be given as *aḍaippu-nibatti*, *kuttagai*, or *sērvai*. Further it stipulates the rates and the way in which the taxes should be paid as in the previous inscription.

The Tiruppanandal inscription[19] is largely built over and only a portion which refers to taxes on wet crops is visible, and of the Tiruvaiyaru inscription,[20] only the initial part remains, from which we know that the measuring rod used on land on which the *kāṇiyāḷar* raised crops was eighteen feet long and that on those lands taxes such as *kaḍamai*, *kāsu-kaḍamai* and *kāṇikkai* were levied.

The matter recorded in these inscriptions concerns three categories

of people: (1) the Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai groups who suffered from the oppression; (2) the *kāṇiyāḷar*, who were either Brāhmaṇas or Veḷḷāḷas and who seem to have oppressed the first category of people with the help of government officers; and (3) the *irājagarattār* and others who seem to have been the intruders and who oppressed the first and second categories of people by unjust taxation. We shall now examine in greater detail these three categories of people.

The Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai groups comprised cultivators, artisans, merchants, etc. and it has also been clarified that these *jāti*s usually belonged to the lower section of the caste hierarchy. Brāhmaṇas seem to have stood aloof from these divisions in most cases, though the position of Veḷḷāḷas seems to have been more vague.

In the present case Brāhmaṇas and Veḷḷāḷas were not included in these groups, since the inscriptions speak about the oppression practised by Brāhmaṇa and Veḷḷāḷa *kāṇiyāḷar*s. However, there is some possibility of the lower section of the Veḷḷāḷa community being included among them. The names of *jāti*s or professional groups known from the Korukkai and Tiruvaigavur inscriptions as probably being included in the Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai groups are as follow:

Seṭṭigaḷ (merchants); Kaikkōḷar (weavers); Sēnaikkaḍaiyar (merchants); Sāligar (weavers); Niyāyattār (weavers); Sēniya (weavers); Manṟāḍi/Iḍaituṟai (herders); Kōyilaṅgāḍigaḷ (merchants); Sivanpaḍavar (merchants); Vāṇiyar (merchants); Sekku-vāṇiyar (oil merchants); Kaṇmāḷar: Kollan (blacksmiths), Tachchan (carpenters), Taṭṭān (goldsmiths); Vannāṭṭār (kannakkan?); Kusavan (potters); Nāvitan (barbers); Vaṇṇān (washermen); Kāvalkāran (watchmen); Kaivvinai-paṟaiyar (craftsmen Paṟaiyas); Sārvakkārar (soldiers); and Īḻampuñjai (toddy tappers).

These two inscriptions do not specifically mention that the *jāti*s listed above belong either to the Valaṅgai or Iḍaṅgai. Moreover they mention *nāṭṭār* and *tandarimār* as well. In fact these inscriptions purport to give the rates of tax assessment to be paid to the government by all the communities. It is natural, therefore, that the *nāṭṭār* who were the *kāṇiyāḷar* and the *tandarimār* who were the military community are also included. Since these were the targets of attack by the Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai, we have excluded them from the list. The remaining *jāti*s are classified broadly into two groups, the *kuḍigaḷ* or cultivators, and the *paṟṟaḍai* or *paṭṭaḍai*, meaning industrialists or craftsmen. The *jāti*s of the first group are not

specified. In the second group are found various categories of weavers, merchants and craftsmen. It is interesting to note the inclusion therein of a group of Paṟaiyas who are called craftsmen Paṟaiya and the exclusion of the cultivating Paṟaiya. Among the merchants Sekku-vāṇiyar or oil merchants seem to have been comparatively more prosperous as they were assessed at a high rate.

From the above, therefore, we may say that the Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai groups mostly belong to the lower sections of the caste hierarchy except the Sekku-vāṇiyar and can be defined socio-economically as the direct producers of agricultural and other products and the people who provided services to others.

The term *kāṇiyāḷar* can be taken to mean the holder of *kāṇiyāṭchi* (*kāṇi*), hereditary right, and this term can be employed to indicate not only the right to land but also to many other things including offices such as accountantship, headmanship, etc. In the present case, it is certain that it concerns land. However, it is not easy to ascertain what sort of right to land is meant. This can be defined only from the context in which the term was used. In many Vijayanagar inscriptions which record the sale of *kāṇi* right, it can be interpreted as the right to possession of land and enjoyment of its produce. When it was applied to the right to cultivation of land, the term *uḻavu*, meaning cultivation, was usually prefixed to it, i.e. *uḻavukāṇiyāṭchi* (Chapter 7 above). The use of the term *kāṇi* or the term *kāṇiyāḷar* became more frequent only in the later period of Chola rule.

Keeping these points in mind, we may be able to interpret the *kāṇiyāḷar* of these inscriptions as being landholders who controlled the land they possessed. Many Brāhmaṇas who were granted *kāṇiyāṭchi* by the Chola kings became *kāṇiyāḷar*, and many of the influential Veḷḷāḷas also became *kāṇiyāḷar* either by grants or by purchase of the *kāṇiyāṭchi* in and after the later stage of Chola rule.[21]

The last category of people comprised *irājagarattār*, Vaṉṉiyar and *jīvitakkārar*. As to the first, the three inscriptions from Aduthurai, Kil-paluvur and Pennadam specify it as *uchāvaḍi pradhāni* (Vijayanagar governor of the *uchāvaḍi*), though the two inscriptions of Vriddhachalam and Elavanasur simply employ the term *irājagarattār*. Though other inscriptions do not refer directly to these people, they do mention the heavy taxation imposed by the government and one of them refers to the trouble caused by the

rule of the Kannaḍigas. Therefore, we may conclude that they were invaders who governed the region or those who worked for them as their followers.

Vaṉṉiyar today is a caste found in Chingleput, North Arcot, South Arcot and Tiruchirapalli Districts, but in those days this term seems to have meant generally people who were in military service. The Vaṉṉiyar in these inscriptions, therefore, must apply to the military who invaded the country accompanying the Kannaḍiga officers and also the traditional military community (called *tandarimār*) in the locality.

The term *jīvitakkārar* means holder of land given by some authority for his/her sustenance. Therefore, even a dancing girl in a temple who was given land can properly be termed a *jīvitakkārar*. However, judging from the fact that in the inscriptions we often come across high-ranking officers who held *jīvitam*, i.e. *jīvitakkārar*, and also from the statement that they oppressed the people, we should take it to refer to high-ranking officers or influential persons.

The course of this struggle can be studied by focusing attention on the dates and localities of those nine inscriptions. As already seen, the four inscriptions have almost the same date and are almost identical in content: they were resolutions of unity made by the Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai groups of Vaḷudilampaṭṭu. They therefore indicate the open revolt of the lower peasants and artisans as described earlier by Subbarayalu.[22]

The Elavanasur inscription, which is dated one month later, belongs to the same region (Vaḷudilampaṭṭu) and tells us for the first time of the involvement of *sabhaiyār* (Brāhmaṇas), which shows us two other aspects of the matter: the relations between the Valaṅgai /Iḍaṅgai groups as the lower section of society and the Brāhmaṇa *kāṇiyāḷar*s as the landlords who controlled them: the other concerns the relations between the Valaṅgai /Iḍaṅgai groups and the Brāhmaṇa *kāṇiyāḷar*s on one hand, and the invading rulers and their allies such as the *irājagarattār*, Vaṉṉiyar and *jīvitakkārar* on the other. According to these inscriptions the *kāṇiyāḷar*s were also oppressed by the invading rulers and this explains the joint efforts of the Valaṅgai /Iḍaṅgai groups and the *kāṇiyāḷar*s to defend themselves against the oppression.

The other four inscriptions which date to six or seven months later, concern the region between the Kollidam and Kaveri rivers. All of them record the joint resolution of both the Valaṅgai /Iḍaṅgai

groups and the Brāhmaṇa *kāṇiyāḷar*, though *tānattārs* were not included. However, there is in them some other information also. They stipulate the way in which the people of the territory should pay taxes to the government in greater detail and they refer to the resolution made earlier in Vaḻudilampaṭṭu-uchāvaḍi. These two points show us that the revolt which took place first in Vaḻudilam-paṭṭu-uchāvaḍi developed into a movement aiming at some tangible goal involving the higher sections of society also, and spread quickly to the adjacent areas.

The Situation Preceding and After the Revolt

Did this revolt occur all of a sudden without any warning? Other inscriptions which are close to these in date and space give us some relevant information on this question.

An inscription which comes from Tevur in Thanjavur District dated January 1426,[23] records the order of Periya Sirupparasar given to the *nāṭṭavar*[24] of Tiruvārūr-uchāvaḍi, which included the people of the villages of *agaraparru* (Brāhmaṇas), ...*iraiyili* (tax free), *paṇḍāravāḍai* (taxable), *amaram* (military?) and *likitajīvitam* (accountants?). Though it is incomplete and the meaning of some portions is not clear, it gives us information on the trouble afflicting the people of the *nāḍu*. It is the *adikārigaḷ* (officers) who harassed the people by imposing the poll tax called *mallāyi-avvaiyār-magamai* on them and it seems that they farmed out (*kuttagai*) the region for the collection of this tax. It is stated that this farming out increased the quantum of the tax by competitive bidding and that the amount was hiked from 200 to 2,000 *paṇam* in a year's time.

From the last portion of this incomplete inscription, we can infer that the amount of *valaṅgai/iḍaṅgai vari* (another way of expressing *mallāyi-avvaiyār-magamai* in the text, meaning tax on the people of the Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai groups) was settled with the help of Chikkadēvar in order to save the people from trouble, which gives us a link between this inscription and the nine inscriptions examined earlier. The Chikkadēvar mentioned in this inscription might have been the same as the Chikkarasar whose grant is referred to as the document not to be violated in the first four inscriptions.[25] Anyway, this inscription gives us a clear picture of the tyranny of the *adikāris* over the people of this region. It records the measures taken by the higher authorities to save people (the lower sections

of the caste hierarchy?) suffering from this tyrannical oppression. It was two years prior to the revolt of the Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai groups in the region on the northern bank of the Kaveri river.

A short inscription from Kugaiyur in South Arcot District dated 1414[26] records the order given by Nārayya Nāyaka to the *nāṭṭavar* of Magadai-maṇḍalam,[27] that the *kāṇikkai* which had been newly imposed in the previous year should be abolished for ever. Though neither the Valaṅgai nor Iḍaṅgai group appears in it, this inscription may be considered to have politico-economic implications in common with the Tevur inscription examined above.

There are six other inscriptions which are also relevant.[28] These are located in various places in Chingleput, North Arcot, South Arcot and Tiruchirapalli Districts and are dated 1427 and 1428, midway between the Tevur inscription and the inscriptions examined earlier. Of these six, the four belonging to Chingleput and North Arcot Districts refer to the conditions in the same locality, i.e., Chandragiri *rājyam* (*uchāvaḍi*), and have an almost identical content.

They record the royal order accompanied by the orders and communications of the executive officers given to the temple authorities (*sthānattār* or *tānattār*) of the Śaiva, Vaishṇava and other temples of the region. Their contents may be summarised as follows: the *kuḍigaḷ* (cultivators, artisans and other lower communities of agrarian society) of the temple lands were distressed greatly, because the *adikāri*s imposed many taxes on temple lands, such as *jōḍi*, *mugampārvai*, *aṅgasālai-jōḍi*, *viśēshādāyam*,[29] etc. and also because the *jīvitakkārar*, *adikārigaḷ*, *ūravar* and *tānattār* took the temple land as *kuttagai*. Owing to this, the temples became unable to conduct customary worship (*pūjā*s), festivals and repairs, and accordingly the *panmāhēśvara*s (Śaiva devotees) and an individual (Vairavanāyinār) went and appealed to the king. Hence the royal order to the effect that (1) except the *vipūdi-kāṇikkai*[30] payable to the royal treasury from the temple, all the other taxes which the *adikāri*s had imposed and taken should be remitted to the temple treasury; (2) the income misappropriated by the *jīvitakkārar*, *adikārigaḷ*, *ūravar* and *tānattār* (through the *kuttagai*) should be given back to the temple treasury; (3) the *panmāhēśvara*s and Vairavanāyinār should superintend the above and let the worship, festivals and repairs of the temple be conducted; and (4) no temple land should be given to anybody as *kuttagai*.

The remaining two inscriptions are from the Chidambaram (South

Arcot District) and Jambukēśvaram (Tiruchirapalli District) temples. Both record the royal order to the temple authorities of the Śaiva, Vaishṇava and other temples in the three *rājyam*s (*uchāvaḍi*) of Tiruchirāpaḷḷi, Chōḷamaṇḍalam[31] and Vaḷudilampaṭṭu, though in the case of the former only the Tiruchirāpaḷḷi and Vaḷudilampaṭṭu *rājyam*s can be read. Their content does not differ much from those of the four inscriptions.

However, some new information is also obtained: (1) that the *ūravar* took the temple land as *otti*,[32] and persecuted the *kuḍigaḷ* without returning the land; (2) the *kuḍigaḷ* ran away in many temple villages because of the oppression of the *adikāri*s; (3) it is Marudavana Sivan who appealed to the king with the *panmāhēśvara*s; and (4) temple land should not be given as donation or *bhaṭṭavritti* (land for the maintenance of the *bhaṭṭa* or learned Brāhmaṇa).

These six inscriptions concern only temple lands in contrast to the nine inscriptions examined earlier and the Tevur inscription, all of which seem to have concerned all the categories of land in the region; secondly, the people who took measures to alleviate the trouble are not cultivators nor artisans, but the *panmāhēśvarar* and certain individuals who were responsible for or deeply concerned with the proper worship to be conducted in the temples.

Even so, these six inscriptions tell us about the distress of the cultivators, artisans and others, which resulted from the misbehaviour of the *jīvitakkārar*, *adikāri*, *ūravar* and *tānattār*; and the heavy tax burden inflicted on temple land by *adikāri*s. Therefore, we may say that these inscriptions are also a product of the politico-economic conditions which prevailed in the former Chola country in the 1420s.

Here we must examine the meaning of the term *kuttagai* (or *kuttogai*) appearing in the Tevur inscription, most of the six inscriptions in 1427 and 1428, and two of the nine inscriptions in 1429, and also some other related terms appearing in the last two inscriptions. Etymologically, *kuttagai* may be explained as rent, lease, etc. The actual meaning of this term in the Tevur inscriptions is clear and conveys tax-farming of the territory (*uchāvaḍi*). The usage of this term in the six earlier inscriptions is not as clear, but it seems to mean the fixed rent for the village or land leased out by the temples. In the Korukkai and Tiruvaigavur inscriptions it appears with some other terms in the following manner. In the former, the land (or village) belonging to the categories of *kōyilpaṟṟu* (temple land), *agarapparru* (Brāhmaṇa's land), *paṇḍāravādai* (taxable land)

and *jīvitapparṟu* (official tenure) is not allowed to be taken up as *aḍaippu-nibatti*, *kuttagai* and *sērvai*. In the latter, the categories of land stipulated similarly are *iṟaiyilipparṟu* (tax free land), *paṇḍāravādai* and *jīvitapparṟu*. *Aḍaippu-nibatti* may mean 'assignment' and *sērvai* seems to mean 'that which is added to something else'.

Another inscription of Elavanasur, dated 1404,[33] though damaged, seems to record that a high-ranking officer (probably *mahāpradhāni*) ordered that the seven *paṟṟu*s (revenue units) which had been given to some personage as *sērvai* (?) tenure should be reconverted into *chandāyittam* tenure as the *kuḍigaḷ* had run away owing to the heavy tax (?) burden. As the term *chandāyittam* (a variant of *sañjāyam*) means 'management of land by proprietor' the meaning of *sērvai* may be taken to be 'lease'. Therefore, the two terms appearing with *kuttagai* in these two inscriptions seem to convey a similar idea to that of *kuttagai*; therefore all these three terms, including *kuttagai*, would have meant the leasing or assignment of land or villages for some fixed price. In that sense, the *kuttagai* and other means mentioned in these inscriptions must have functioned as a mechanism through which government officers and other influential personages exploited the cultivators, artisans and others of the lower section of the society and the *kāṇiyāḷar*s of the upper section as well.[34]

Taking into consideration all the above information, let us review the origin and spread of this struggle. We have two inscriptions of an early date, one from Elavanasur (1404) and the other from Kugaiyur (1414), which record the burden on the people of heavy taxation. However, the Tevur inscription is more important than these two when we consider that the struggle culminated in an open revolt in 1429, its date being closer and also since it relates to the Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai groups. The objective of this inscription seems to be to record, as already shown, the assurance given to the people of the *rājyam* by the government authority that government officers (*adikāri*s) would not oppress the people. In two succeeding years, 1427 and 1428, people of a religious order in various places complained to the king about the misbehaviour of government officers and their followers and the inability of the temple to conduct proper religious functions owing to the cultivators, artisans and others having fled. These complaints concerned a large territory covering the present districts of Chingleput, North Arcot, South Arcot and Tiruchirapalli. Responding to these complaints, the king took measures to prevent government officers and others from exploiting the cultivators, artisans

and employees of the temple villages.

Encouraged by this success, the cultivators, artisans and others who organized themselves into the Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai groups rose in an open revolt in the Vaḷudilampaṭṭu area which comprised parts of the present South Arcot and Tiruchirapalli Districts. Within a year, this revolt had spread to the adjacent areas between the Kollidam and Kaveri rivers and developed into a movement aimed at a tangible goal, namely, the settlement of taxes in their favour, involving people of the upper sections of society also.

Though we have no information as to what happened in other regions, in the Vaḷudilampaṭṭu and the region between the two rivers, it seems that the revolt was a success.

However, several inscriptions give us information on the conditions of all the concerned regions for a later period. An inscription in Tiruvennainallur in South Arcot District, dated 1446,[35] seventeen years after the open revolt, records the king's order given to the local chiefs, accountants, and others (?) in Vaḷudilampaṭṭu- uchāvaḍi. It states that the *kuḍigaḷ* who belonged to the Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai groups should be exempted from payment of *kāṇikkai* (*inavari* and *iḍaṅgai-vari*) which the *pradhānis* (local Vijayanagar governors) had demanded. The *kuḍigaḷ* ran away to outside regions (*puṟa rājyam*) and accordingly worship in the temples was suspended and the people suffered much. It further states that though the king had ordered a remission of the tax and had instructed an officer to put inscriptions proclaiming this in all places, the officer implemented the order only partially and hence a new order to another officer was necessary.

Another inscription in Śrīraṅgam temple in Tiruchirapalli District, dated 1464,[36] thirty-five years after the revolt, records the order issued by Sāḷuva Tirumaladēva Mahārāya, probably a *mahā-maṇḍalēśvara*, to the Śrīraṅgam temple and other concerned bodies, that the income which had been paid to the government as revenue from the villages granted to the Śrīraṅgam temple should be remitted for the benefit of the temple, and the villages which had been taken by government officers and others as *kuttagai* should be returned and put under the supervision of the temple. The locality in which the granted villages existed covered the *uchāvaḍi*s of Tiruchirāpaḷḷi and Tiruvārūr and the *sīrmai* of Tañjāvūr.[37]

In Kugaiyur in South Arcot District we have three inscriptions which record the orders given by *nāyaka*s to the *nāṭṭavar*s of Magadai-maṇḍalam for the years 1447, 1464 and 1482.[38] The first

one records remission of taxes unduly taken from the people of the *maṇḍalam*, the second the change of the measuring rod from 18 feet to 20 feet in favour of the *kuḍi*s and the last, lightening the burden of taxes and forced labour. Though in these inscriptions neither the Valaṅgai /Iḍaṅgai groups nor the term *kuttagai* appear, they refer to the distressed conditions of the people (*kuḍi*) due to unjust and heavy taxation. We have two similar inscriptions in Aragalur[39] in Salem District also. The two Aragalur inscriptions of the same period record the *nāyaka*'s order to the *nāṭṭavar* of Magadai-maṇḍalam, to reduce the taxes on the people. They speak also of the unjust and heavy taxation from which the *kuḍi*s suffered.

All these inscriptions indicate that the trouble described in the Aduthurai inscription and others continued in the locality even after the struggle of the people to improve conditions in the latter half of the 1420s.

This social conflict should be viewed in the wider context of the socio-economic conditions prevailing in the fifteenth century in the former Chola country.

Conclusion

The first thing to be suggested by this examination is the significant socio-economic confrontation between the direct producers, represented by the Valaṅgai /Iḍaṅgai groups, and the landlords, represented by the Brāhmaṇa and Veḷḷāḷa *kāṇiyāḷar*. Although we are not certain about the existence of landlords in all the regions mentioned above, their prevalence in the lower Kaveri valley, i.e. the areas covered by the Tiruchirāpaḷḷi and Tiruvārūr *uchāvaḍi*s, and the Chingleput/North Arcot region, towards the close of the Chola rule was suggested by me elsewhere.[40] As we shall see later (Chapter 11), expansion of the agrarian economy seems to have taken place to a large extent in the Vaḷudilampaṭṭu area in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which must have resulted in the emergence of landlords in this region also. Moreover, the references in the Vaḷudilampaṭṭu inscriptions to oppression by the landlords attest to their prevalence in this region.

Regrettably, we know very little about the *nāṭṭavar*s. Subbarayalu once suggested that the *nāṭṭār*s (*nāṭṭavar*s) of Chola times would have been Veḷḷāḷa landholders, and this interpretation may apply to the Vijayanagar *nāṭṭavar*s also to a certain extent. However, we have

evidence that in Vijayanagar times they seem to have included other communities also. The Tevur inscription speaks of the *nāṭṭavar*s of the *nāḍu* which included *brahmadēya* tenure together with some other tenures, and we have a Pandyan inscription in Ratnagiri[41] in Tiruchirapalli District mentioning Ūrāḷi-nāṭṭavar, which means the *nāṭṭavar* of the Ūrāḷi community. It seems, therefore, that the *nāṭṭavar* of this period belonged to diverse communities.

We may therefore suggest tentatively that the *nāṭṭavar*s of these inscriptions would have been the influential *kāṇiyāḷar*, many of whom were Veḷḷāḷas and Brāhmaṇas. The inscriptions of Tevur, Kugaiyur and Aragalur indicate clearly that the *nāṭṭavar*s were in an intermediate position between the *kuḍigaḷ* and the *irājagarattār*. However, the *nāṭṭavar*s soon began to have more multi-caste composition and thereby seem to have lost their corporate character in many localities.[42]

The second feature is the tyrannical rule of government officers such as *pradhāni*s, *adikāri*s, etc. which must have been the decisive factor which forced the Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai groups to rise in open revolt against the landlords and the government as well. It would seem from the inscriptions that these government officers were intruders from Karnataka, and their tyranny may reflect the political confusion at the start of Vijayanagar rule in Tamilnadu.

Lastly, we have to consider the question of economic growth and subsequent social change seen in the Vaḷudilampaṭṭu area in this period. The fact that in many of the temples in the Vaḷudilampaṭṭu area the number of Vijayanagar inscriptions is greater than that of Chola inscriptions (in contrast to the temples of the lower Kaveri valley) may be explained in relation to this economic and social change, and if we examine the tax terms appearing in the Vijayanagar inscriptions in those areas, we obtain a clearer picture of this point (see Chapter 11 below). The frequency of terms related to industries such as *sekku-āyam* (tax on oil pressing), *taṟi-kaḍamai* (tax on looms), etc. and the general term *paṭṭaḍai-nūlāyam* or simply *nūlāyam* relating to craftsmen (including weavers) and merchants, is considerably higher in the Vaḷudilampaṭṭu area than in the Tiruchirāpaḷḷi and Tiruvārūr areas from the fourteenth century. As a result of this economic development and social change in the Vaḷudilampaṭṭu area, the people who organized themselves as Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai groups must have increased their power during that period. All these threee factors combined together must have caused the revolt of the people of

the lower section in society.

Though it seems that the condition of the people did not improve as a result of this revolt and its subsequent development into a wider movement, nevertheless we do not hear of any more incidents of this type after the Kugaiyur inscriptions in 1482. The movement seems to have subsided with the establishment of *nāyaka* rule in these regions. *Nāyaka*s seem to have acquired the necessary legitimacy for remitting important taxes such as *kaḍamai*, *jōḍi*, etc. by the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Broadly speaking, we may consider the three centuries after the decline of the Chola central power as the transitional period, in which socio-economic changes were accompanied by conflicts and confrontations between different sections of society. The establishment of *nāyaka* rule in Tamilnadu in the sixteenth century indicates the consolidation of a new social order in the region.

NOTES

1. Valaṅgai means 'right hand' and Iḍaṅgai 'left hand'. The division of society into Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai in South India is noticed from about A.D. 1100 onwards in inscriptions of the Chola and Vijayanagar periods and in British records later. The current understanding of this division among most scholars is that the agricultural *jāti*s or castes were grouped under Valaṅgai and the non-agricultural castes, say artisans and traders, under Iḍaṅgai. See for the various opinions on this subject, Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society*, pp. 172–215 and 469–88; also Arjun Appadurai, 'Right and Left Hand Castes in South India', *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, vol. XI, nos. 2 and 3, 1974, pp. 216–60.
2. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, 2nd ed., University of Madras, 1955, p. 552. It is strange that Nilakanta Sastri mentions only the Iḍaṅgai group, though the Valaṅgai group also appears in the Aduthurai inscription, as we shall see subsequently.
3. N. Vanamamalai, 'Consolidation of Feudalism and Antifeudal Struggles during Chola Imperialist Rule', *Proceedings of the Second International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies*, vol. III, Madras, 1970, pp. 242–43. Vanamamalai not only repeated the mistake made by Nilakanta Sastri by mentioning only the Iḍaṅgai group but also made an additional one by taking the number of castes to be 96.
4. 'Early Indian Feudalism: A Historiographical Critique', Indian History Congress, XL session, Waltair, 1979. Presidential address for section I, Ancient India.

5. 'The Peasantry of Tiruchirapalli District from the 13th to 17th Centuries,' *Socio-cultural Changes in Villages in Tiruchirāpaḷḷi District, Tamilnadu, India*, Part 1 (Pre-modern period), ed. N. Karashima, Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo, 1983.
6. *AR* 1913-34 (Aduthurai); *AR* 1926-253 (Kil-paluvur); *AR* 1918-92 (Vriddhachalam); *AR* 1929-246 (Pennadam).
7. *Uchāvaḍi* or *chāvaḍi* was the administrative province of the Vijayanagar empire. It was also known as *rājya*. Each of these provinces was named after the respective headquarters. Vaḷudilampaṭṭu-uchāvaḍi comprised approximately the area bounded by the basin of the Pennai on the north and the Kollidam (Coleroon) on the south.
8. *Kāṇi* means hereditary right. Further details on *kāṇiyāḷar* are given later.
9. The meaning of the grant given by Chikkarasar is not clear. But it may relate to the guarantee given by Chikkadēva and mentioned in the Tevur inscription, which we shall examine later.
10. The number '98' is supposed to denote the number of *jātis* included in each of the two groups. But the number seems to be fictitious, for even in the elaborate lists of the British period, the 98 castes are not mentioned. See Stein, *Peasant State and Society*, p. 472.
11. *AR* 1938-49.
12. *Sabhaiyār*: corporate body of Brāhmaṇa villages; Brāhmaṇa landholders. *Tānattār* or *sthānattār*: managing body of temples. The *tānattār* appears only in this inscription. It may indicate that in this particular locality (the 12 *parru* around Paruvūr in Iruṅgōḷappāḍi-nāḍu) there were many *dēvadāna* or temple villages inhabited by the Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai people.
13. This point may be understood in its proper perspective if we remember that inscriptions of the Vijayanagar period distinguish between two categories of *kuḍi* on the basis of the mode of payment of the assessment, viz. *kuḍiyānappēr* (peasants) and *kāsāya-kuḍi* (merchants and craftsmen). The *kāsāya-kuḍi*, also referred to as *paṭṭaḍai*, obviously paid the assessment in money (*kāsāyam* 'tax in money'). This is also clear from the Korukkai and Tiruvaigavur inscriptions to be discussed below.
14. *Nallerudu* (good bull), *narpasu* (good cow) and *narkiḍā* (good ram) seem to be levies on cattle and sheep. *Jōḍi* (quit rent) may be a nominal rent paid for enjoying some tax-free land. *Viniyōgam* (expenses) may be a tax paid for meeting public expenses. The meaning of *norelai-kāṇikkai* is not clear. *Kāṇikkai* is 'present'. *Kudirai-kāṇikkai* may be a present made for the maintenance of the officials' horses. For these tax terms, see Chapter 11.
15. Kaikkōḷars were weavers who were usually associated with temples at this time.
16. *Ūravar* usually means members of the corporate body *ūr*.
17. *AR* 1917-216 (Korukkai); *AR* 1914-59 (Tiruvaigavur); and *SII*, v, 554 (Tiruvaiyaru).
18. Since this part of the inscription is badly damaged, the names of those places are not ascertainable. But in an almost identical context, the Tiruvaigavur

inscription refers to 'many *nāḍus* in Vaḷudilampaṭṭu-chāvaḍi'. Obviously, therefore, it refers to the incidents recorded in the five inscriptions discussed above.

19. *AR* 1932-78.
20. *SII*, v, 554.
21. We have much evidence on the emergence of non-Brāhmaṇa *kāṇiyāḷars* in the lower Kaveri valley and also in the Chingleput/North Arcot region. See N. Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, pp. 15–35. Also Chapter 6 above.
22. See note 5 above.
23. *SII*, xvii, 562.
24. *Nāṭṭavar* are usually considered to be members of the corporate body *nāḍu*. The problem relating to this term will be discussed later.
25. See note 6 above.
26. *AR* 1918-109.
27. Magadai-maṇḍalam comprised Attur Taluk of Salem District and the neighbouring Kallakkurichi and Tirukkoyilur Taluks of South Arcot District.
28. *SII*, xvii, 736 (Tirumullaivayil, Cg); *AR* 1912-226 (Tiruvorriyur, Cg); *AR* 1930-152 (Tiruppasur, Cg); *AR* 1921-270 (Takkolam, N.A.); *AR* 1913-376 (Chidambaram, S.A.); and *AR* 1937-113 (Jambukesvaram, Tp).
29. *Mugampārvai*, fee for getting audience with an official; *aṅgasālai-jōḍi*, fee on granaries; *viśēshādāyam*, levy on some special income.
30. *Vipūdi-kāṇikkai*, may mean 'presents on account of prosperity'; *vipūdi* < *vibhūt* (plenty).
31. The *rājyam* or *uchāvadi* of Tiruchirāpaḷḷi comprised the area on both banks of the Kaveri in Tiruchirapalli District. Cōḻamaṇḍalam, otherwise called Tiruvārūr uchāvaḍi, had its headquarters at Tiruvarur and comprised most of the Thanjavur delta south of the Kollidam.
32. *Otti* usually means mortgage, sometimes also lease.
33. *AR* 1938-491.
34. A similar phenomenon seems to have occurred in other places also (Chapter 7 above).
35. *AR* 1921-476.
36. *SII*, iv, 506 (same as *SII*, xxiv, 339).
37. *Sīrmai* is a general term denoting territory in Vijayanagar times. Only in the 16th century did Thanjavur become a separate *uchavāḍi*.
38. *AR* 1918-97, 96 and 103.
39. *AR* 1913-422 and 423.
40. See note 21 above.
41. *AR* 1914-173.
42. See Chapter 2 above and Chapter 9 below.

Inscriptions Relating to the Conflict

	Village	*District*	*Date*	*Reference*
1.	Elavanasur	SA	1404	*AR* 1938-491
2.	Kugaiyur	SA	1414	*AR* 1918-109
3.	Tevur	Tj	1426, Jan.10	*SII*, xvii, 562
4.	Takkolam	NA	1426, Dec.	*AR* 1921-270
5.	Tirumullaivayil	Cg	1427/28 (?)	*SII*, xvii, 736
6.	Tiruvorriyur	Cg	1427/28	*AR* 1912-226
7.	Tiruppasur	Cg	1428, Jan.25	*AR* 1930-152
8.	Chidambaram	SA	1428, Mar.25	*AR* 1913-376
9.	Jambukesvaram	Tp	1428, Mar.(?)	*AR* 1937-113
10.	Aduthurai	Tp	1429, Apr.11	*AR* 1913-34
11.	Kil-paluvur	Tp	1429, Mar.27–Apr.26	*AR* 1926-253
12.	Vriddhachalam	SA	1429, Apr.24	*AR* 1918-92
13.	Pennadam	SA	1429, Apr.11	*AR* 1929-246
14.	Elavanasur	SA	1429, May 4	*AR* 1938-49
15.	Korukkai	Tj	1429, Nov.12	*AR* 1927-216
16.	Tiruvaigavur	Tj	1429, Nov.21	*AR* 1914-59
17.	Tiruppanandal	Tj	1429, Nov.(7)	*AR* 1932-78
18.	Tiruvaiyaru	Tj	1429, Dec.12	*SII*, v, 554
19.	Tiruvennainallur	SA	1446, Sept.30	*AR* 1921-476
20.	Kugaiyur	SA	1447	*AR* 1918-97
21.	Kugaiyur	SA	1464	*AR* 1918-96
22.	Srirangam	Tp	1464	*SII*, iv, 506
23.	Aragalur	S1	1464(?)	*AR* 1913-423
24.	Aragalur	S1	1482	*AR* 1913-422
25.	Kugaiyur	SA	1482	*AR* 1918-103

CHAPTER 9

GROWTH OF POWER IN THE KAIKKŌḶA AND KAṆMĀḶA COMMUNITIES

The Kaṇmāḷas

There are five inscriptions datable to A.D. 1572/3, found in the region of the Pennai and Gadilam valleys (Map 5) in South Arcot District, which record that the Kaṇmāḷa community was granted remission of three taxes. The remission was made by the *nāṭṭavars* or *nāṭṭārs* (and other local leaders)[1], who swore to the remission to the government represented by the king, a *nāyaka* and a secretary of the *nāyaka*. The five inscriptions are, in chronological order:

Reference	*Place*	*Year*	*Month*	*A.D.*
1. *AR* 1938-493	Elavanasur 1495	Āṅgīrasa	Chittirai	1572
2. *AR* 1921-378	Tiruvadi		Vaiyāsi	1572[2]
3. *AR* 1929-293	Edaiyar	Āṅgīrasa	Tai 21	1573
4. *AR* 1940-273	Tirunamanallur	Āṅgīrasa	Tai 21	1573
5. *AR* 1922-65	Tiruvamattur	Āṅgīrasa	Paṅguni	1573

The inscriptions vary in length, but all of them contain the following six features:

1. Names of government authorities to whom the *nāṭṭavars** of certain localities swore the fulfilment of their decision.
2. Names of localities to which the *nāṭṭavars** belonged, and names of the *nāṭṭavars'** representatives.
3. The sufferings of the three (Kollans, Tachchans and Tāṭṭāns)[3] or five (*añjujāti* Pañchālattārs)[4] sections of the Kaṇmāḷa community under the heavy burden of the three taxes levied by previous *nāṭṭavars*.
4. The decision of the present *nāṭṭavars** to remit these taxes in favour of the Kaṇmāḷas of their locality, in consideration of the fact that Kaṇmāḷas in the nearby regions of Señji, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, Paḍaivīḍu and Kāñchīpuram, north of the district, were already exempted from those taxes.
5. The fine payable by *nāṭṭavars** of 12,000 *pon* and 12 penalties, if they violated the agreement given to the Kaṇmāḷas.

6. Signatures of some of the bodies or individuals mentioned under the first two categories.

From the information contained in these inscriptions, the following inferences can be drawn.

First, the increased importance of the Kaṇmāḷa community in the sixteenth century. While ins. 1, being the first record of this event, does not specify the trouble the Kaṇmāḷas suffered from, the other four inscriptions make it clear that it was the *pāvāḍai*, *parivaṭṭam* and *mugantuḍai* taxes that constituted the burden. Though the meaning of the terms is not clear, since they all concern cloth to be worn, they may be taxes collected for presenting cloth to some important personage on a ceremonial or ritual occasion, and if so, they can be interpreted as varieties of the *kāṇikkai* (present) tax, the imposition of which had caused much suffering in previous centuries.

The Kaṇmāḷas who were now exempted from these taxes lived in the middle and lower valleys of the Pennai and Gadilam rivers which compose the central part of South Arcot District. It is presumed that the Kaṇmāḷas of this region increased in importance with the economic development taking place in the sixteenth century, but it is also clear that those Kaṇmāḷas elsewhere who had already acquired exemption from these taxes persuaded the *nāṭṭavar*s of this region to exempt the Kaṇmāḷas. Ins. 1 specifically mentions the representatives (*saṅgēdigaḷ*) of the Kaṇmāḷas of many other regions (*pala maṇḍala*) coming for this purpose. Ins. 4 mentions 'the representatives of many other regions' in the first section, as a body to which the *nāṭṭavar*s* swore they would fulfil their promise. Thus, the transregional unity of the community must have been another important factor in the Kaṇmāḷas' success here. Though this event was not a revolt, it still reminds us of the open revolt of the Valaṅgai /Iḍaṅgai groups who rose against their oppressive landholders (*kāṇiyāḷar*) and the government (*irājagarattār*) in the fifteenth century (Chapter 8 above).[5]

The second notable point about these inscriptions is the rare information available on the social constitution of the local leaders, here particularly *nāṭṭavars*. These inscriptions, however, are not easy to understand, particularly on this point, and I give below the second section of all the five inscriptions, numbering each individual.

No. 1 Panniraṇḍu-paṟṟu
1. Kurumbiyur Vanappa Nāyinār
2. Āsanūr Veṅgappa Mudaliyār
3. Pālaiyam Koṅgarāya Paṇḍāram
4. Inālūrnāṭṭu Melluḍaiyār
5. Uḷundūr Piḷaiporutta Nāyinār
6. Cheṅgurichchi Perumāḷ Nāyinār
7. Pādūr Visairāyar
8. Naḍuvipaṭṭu Vaṉṉiya Nāyakkar and
other (*maṟṟum uṇḍāna*) *nāṭṭār*s
Uḍaiyār-kōyil, Perumāḷ-kōyil *tānattār*s (and)
Piḍāgai-paṟṟu,
1. Koppana Vāṇḍarāyar

No. 2 Tiruvadikaik... (*nāṭ*) *ṭilavarkaḷ* (*nāṭṭavar*s),
Naḍuvilkarai-paṟṟu *nāṭṭavar*,
Chōḻakulavalli-paṟṟu *nāṭṭilavarkaḷ* (and)
Vāgūr-paṟṟu...
...ḻāgaraṅgaiyar and other (*uḷḷiṭṭār*)
Udaiyar-kōyil *tānattār* and others
Perumāḷ-koyil *tānattār* and others
1. Veḷḷān Seyitittā Mudaliyār and others
2. Kumārappa (Reḍḍiyār) and others
3. Siṅgāpura Irāmaiya Piḷḷai and others
4. Naḍuvilkarai-paṟṟu Vaṇḍi Annama Raḍḍiyār
5. Sūrappūr Nāyan Piḷḷai
6. ...ṟikkamuḍaiyār
7. Tiruvadi Pāppu Raḍḍiyār
8. Siru Pāppu Raḍḍiyār
9. Vāgūr Paṅglar Piḷḷai
10. Malāppaṭṭu Meyillāḍuvar
11. Maḻavarāyanallūr Toṇḍaiyil Kachchiyarāyar
12. Vaṇadaraiyan Taḻarar and
13. Māligaimēḍu Annamaraśayar and others (*uḻppaṭṭārum*)

No. 3 Iḍaiyāṟṟu-paṟṟu, Siṟṟiṅgūr-paṟṟu *nāṭṭilavarkaḷ*
1. Uḍaiyār Koṅgarāyar
2. *vāsal mudalippēr* Nāyinār Kachchirāyar
3. *vāsal mudalippēr* Iḍaiyāṟu Koṇḍama nāyakkar and
other (*uḻpaṭṭa*) *nāṭṭavar*

No. 4 Tirunāvalūr-sīrmai *nāṭṭār*
1. Mummaḍi Reḍḍiyār
2. Mūrti Reḍḍiyār
3. Erama Nāyakkar
4. Annāmalai Savasiva Raḍḍiyār
5. Puṇṇiya Kavun... Sevvalai Paṟaiyar and
6. Obili Nāyakkar and
Mudaliyār *tānattār* and
other (*maṟṟum uṇḍāna*) *nāṭṭār*
Tirunāvalūr-sīrmai, Kuppa-sīrmai
1. Mūrti Nāyakkar and
other (*ullitta*) *nāṭṭār*

No. 5 Vaḍakkaḍainda-paṟṟu *nāṭṭavar*
1. Ānāṅgūr Villavarayar and others (*ullittār*)
2. Karpūra Villiyār Piḷḷai Kuppiya Piḷḷai and others
3. Olukkai Vaikunta Perumāl and others and
Tiruvāmāttūr *tānattār* and others
4. Vaḷudiratta Vāṇḍarāya...
5. ...sirupandāḍu Eṟama Pāppu Raḍḍiyār
Chittā Raḍḍiyār and others
Vāḷavanallūr Āñaṅgūr *mahājanangaḷ* and others
and other (*maṟṟum*) *mahājanas* of the Brāhmaṇa villages (*agrahāra*) in Vaḍakkaḍainda-paṟṟu

As to the inclusion of *tānattār*s (members of the temple management organization), there is some confusion. In ins. 1, the *tānattār*s of Uḍaiyār (Siva) and Perumāḷ (Vishṇu) temples appear to be independent of the *nāṭṭār*. They are, however, included in the *nāṭṭār* in ins. 4, while in ins. 2 and 5, it is not clear whether they are included or not, and in ins. 3 they do not appear. The position of the *mahājana*s (the Brāhmaṇa village assembly), which appears only in ins. 5, is also ambiguous, as it is not clear from the text whether they are included amongst the *nāṭṭavar*s or not.

However, the reference to *tānattār*s and *mahājanas* in these inscriptions shows that they were important as local powers, being big landlords. It is interesting that *mahājana*s appear in only one of the five as against the more frequent appearance of *tānattārs*, which may be taken as evidence of the decline of Brāhmaṇa landholders and the increasing importance of temples as landlords.[6]

In some inscriptions there is also some confusion about the individuals included in the *nāṭṭavar*s, or their position in them. In ins. 1, 3 and 4, however, it is clear that the individuals enumerated

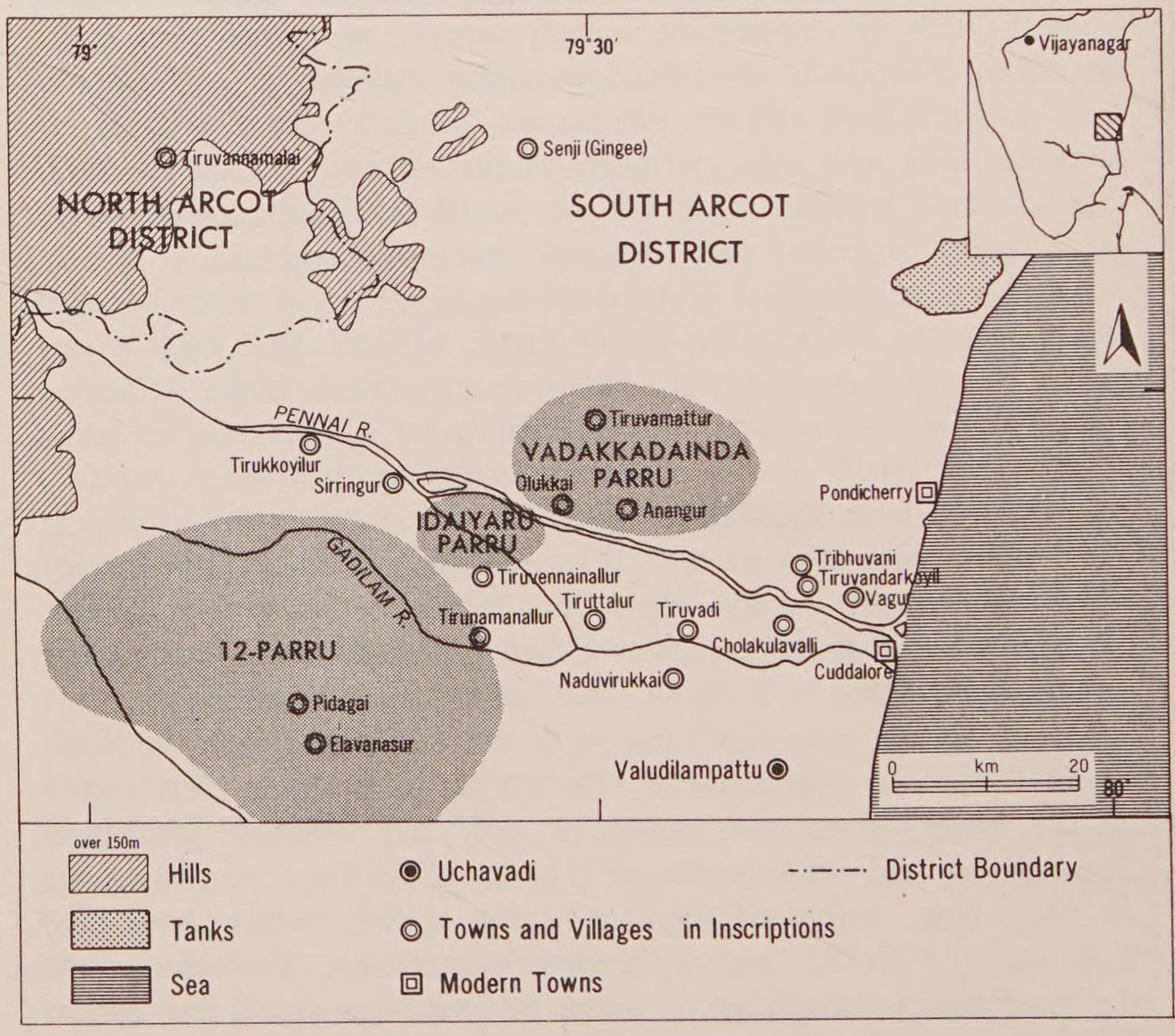
in those inscriptions after the term *nāṭṭavar* (*nāṭṭār*) are their representatives, since the phrases *maṟṟum uṇḍāna* (and others), *uḷpaṭṭa* (inclusive of) and *uḷḷiṭṭa* (inclusive of) respectively occur before the repetition of the term *nāṭṭavar* (*nāṭṭār*) at the end. We may therefore be able to regard them as the *nāṭṭavar*s' representatives in other instances as well.

Of the five records, however, ins. 3 is somewhat special. Judging from the title or designation, namely *uḍaiyār* and *vāsal mudalipēr*,[7] the three individuals mentioned as being included in the *nāṭṭavar* seem to have been officers. We do not know the actual relationship of these three with other members of the *nāṭṭavar*, but we can infer that the two localities (*paṟṟu*s) mentioned in this inscription were more tightly organized and governed than other regions.

Another notable aspect is the multi-communal nature of the *nāṭṭavar* representatives. We find the names Reḍḍi, Mudaliār and Piḷḷai among them. Though we are not sure whether those terms indicated community or title, Reḍḍis and Mudaliārs were certainly the ancestors of the later Reḍḍi and Mudaliār communities, and must therefore have differed from the Veḷḷāḷas who had settled earlier in this region. The Piḷḷais must have been Veḷḷāḷas. Judging from the title *arayan*, which came into common use in the thirteenth century to indicate big landholders,[8] most persons with that title would be big landholders or magnates. Some individuals even had the title *nāyaka*.

Lastly, we can raise the question of the role of the state, in which *nāyaka*s were the crucial factor. Though ins. 1, being the first record of the event, gives the names of only the *rāyasam* (secretary) Tirumalaiyar and his subordinate (?), the other four give the names of the king Srīraṅgadēva, his agent (*kāriyattukku kartarāna*) Krishṇappa Nāyaka,[9] and Krishṇappa's secretary, Tirumalaiyar, as the government authorities to whom the *nāṭṭavar*s swore they would fulfil their decision of tax remission. This is a clear indication of the strongly hierarchical administration.

As I have discussed in Chapter 1 in regard to the structure of this ruling network and the role played by *nāyaka*s, there are many other inscriptions which indicate the existence of this hierarchical structure. However, these five inscriptions provide significant information on the relationship between the government and the people ruled. They reveal to us that the *nāṭṭavar*s, particularly individuals such as those appearing in these inscriptions, were key figures in the system of state rule, linking the *nāyaka*s with the lower levels of the rural society.



Map 5 South Arcot district during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries

The Kaikkōḷas

Another five inscriptions relate to the increasing strength of the Kaikkōḷa community of South Arcot District and Pondicherry territory at the close of the fifteenth century. They are, in chronological order:

	Reference	*Place*	*Year*	*Month*
1.	*AR* 1921-473	Tiruvennainallur	Ś.1407, Visvāvasu, Āḍi 15, (June A.D.1485)	
2.	*AR* 1929-291	Edaiyar	—do—	
3.	*AR* 1918-162	Brahmadesam	Ś.1407, Visvāvasu, Kumba, (January A.D.1486)	
4.	*AR* 1925-422	Tiruttalur	Ś.1409, Visvāvasu, Simha, (July A.D.1485)	
5.	*AR* 1917-368	Tiruvandarkoil	Ś.1425, Rudrōtkāri, Aippasi, (September A.D.1503)	

First we shall examine their contents briefly.

No. 1. Intimation given to the Kaikkōḷas in Vaḻudilam- paṭṭu-rājyam. As they had not been enjoying the privileges of using the palanquin (*taṇḍu*) and blowing the conch (*saṅgu*), many (*palar*) Kaikkōḷas of Kāñchīpuram came and urged the local chief called Aṟamaḷatta Nāyinār to grant the privileges to them. Accepting this request, the chief ordered the local magnates under him including such *arayan* title holders as Koṅgarāyar, Irāyavipāḍa Koṅgarāyan, Kulaiyā Chēdirāya and Aṇṇamalainmāda Koṅgarāyan, to grant these privileges to the Kaikkōḷas in Vaḻudilampaṭṭu-rājyam. They executed the chief's order and signed the document.

No. 2. As the Kaikkōḷas in Vaḻudilampaṭṭu-rājyam had not been enjoying the privileges of *taṇḍu* and *saṅgu*, many Kaikkōḷas of Kāñchīpuram and Viriñchipuram came and asked the local chief, Aṟamaḷatta Nāyinār, to grant them these privileges also. Accordingly the chief ordered Koṅgarāyar, Gaṅgarāyar and Kachchirāyar to grant the privileges to the Kaikkōḷas of this region (*maṇḍalam*). They agreed to execute the order. The document was signed by Koṅgarāyar, Tāya... Aṇāmalainādar, Koṅgarāyar and Kachchirā...

No. 3. The inscription is damaged, but the following is known. The coming of the Kaikkōḷas of Kāñchīpuram and Yiruñchipuram (Viriñjipuram), their request to Aṟamaḷatta Nāyinār who is stated to be the minister (*piradāni*) ruling Tiruvaḍi-rājyam, the assembling of Koṅgarāyar, Gāṅgayar, Toṇḍamānār and Kachchirāyar, and the

grant of the privileges to the Kaikkōḷas of Piḷagūrumisuram(?) in Panaiyūr-nāḍu. Signatories include Koṅgarāyar, Gāṅ(garā)yar, Gāṅ(garā)yar, Toṇḍaimāñar, Kachchirāyar, Parachi... kiṟama Pāṇḍiya Iruṅgōlar.

No. 4. This inscription is also damaged, but the coming of the Kaikkōḷas of Kāñchīpuram, their request to Aṟamaḷatta Nāyinār, the granting of the privileges of *taṇḍu* and *saṅgu* to the Kaikkōḷas of the territory (*iṟāchchiyam*) are known.

No. 5. The contents and date of this inscription differ a little from those of the previous four. As the Kaikkōḷas of Tirubuvanaimādēvi-paṟṟu, Naḍuvukkarai-paṟṟu and Nenmali-paṟṟu, namely those living in Peṇṇaikkarai-rājyam,[10] had not been enjoying the privileges of *taṇḍu* and *saṅgu* on both auspicious and inauspicious occasions, Ambikāmakkilavar Aṟamvaḷatta Nāyanār (Aṟamaḷatta Nāyinār) who served Narasā Nāyaka granted them these privileges. To this, the *sabaiyār* and Maḻavarāyar Nilaiyaṅgar gave their consent. 'Anybody who speaks against this will be punished' as is stated in the stone inscription set up in Seḻiyaṅganallūr. Aṟamvaḷatta Nāyanār himself signed the document, and the other signatories are Sōmāṇḍār, who represented the *sabaiyār* of Tirubuvanaimādēvi, and Nilaiyaṅgar.

The contents and dates of the first four inscriptions are almost the same, from which the following can be known: the Kaikkōḷas in Vaḻudilampaṭṭu-rājyam (ins. 1 and 2), particularly those in Panaiyūr-nāḍu (ins. 3) and the Tiruttaḷūr area (ins. 4) had not been enjoying the privileges of using the palanquin and blowing the conch on certain occasions. To help them, representatives of the Kaikkōḷas of Kāñchīpuram (Chingleput District) and Viriñjipuram (North Arcot District) came and urged the local chief, called Aṟamaḷatta Nāyinār, who was the minister in charge of Tiruvaḍi-rājyam (same as Vaḻudilampaṭṭu-rājyam), to grant them the same privileges that they had been enjoying in their regions. The chief called together his subordinates and ordered them to grant those privileges to the Kaikkōḷas of their localities. The subordinates, who had titles such as Koṅgarāyar, Gaṅgarāyar, Toṇḍaiman, Kachchirāyar, Chēdirayar, etc., agreed and executed the chief's order.[11]

From ins. 5, which is dated eighteen years later than the other four, it is known that Aṟamvaḷatta Nāyanār (Aṟamaḷatta Nāyinār) became an agent (*kāriyattukku kaḍava*) of Narasā Nāyaka of the Tuḷuva dynasty who came to power in A.D. 1491. The region in which Kaikkōḷas were granted these privileges is mentioned as

Peṇṇaikkarai-rājyam, particularly Tirubuvanaimādēvi-paṟṟu, Naḍuvukarai-paṟṟu and Nenmalai-paṟṟu. The local subordinate of Aṟamaḷatta Nāyināṟ with the title Maḷavarāyar and the *sabaiyār* (Brāhmaṇa assembly) of Tirubuvanaimādēvi were also issued orders to ensure that those privileges were granted to the Kaikkōḷas.

Although there was a gap of seventy years between the incidents described in these inscriptions and those in the five inscriptions concerning the Kaṇmāḷas, they are quite similar to the latter and indicate the growth of the power of the Kaikkōḷas of Vaḷudilampaṭṭu region, particularly in the lower valleys of the Pennai and Gadilam rivers. As with the Kaṇmāḷas, the initiative towards improving the conditions of the Kaikkōḷas of that area was taken by members of the community living north of the Vaḷudilampaṭṭu area. This indicates the power held earlier by the Kaikkōḷas in the northern regions such as Kāñchīpuram and Viriñchipuram and also the unity of the community. Although inscriptions contain other types of evidence for the increased strength of the Kaikkōḷas, for example, their close association with the temple management,[12] etc., the bestowal of social privileges known from these inscriptions is another indication of the growing power of the Kaikkōḷa community during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Another interesting point that emerges from an examination of these five inscriptions concerning the Kaikkōḷas is again related to the structure of local administration under the Vijayanagar kings. Though the term *nāṭṭavar* does not occur in these Kaikkōḷa inscriptions, the hierarchical structure evident from the Kaṇmāḷa inscriptions can also be pointed out in these. The name Aṟamaḷatta and the title *nāyināṟ* (Tamilized form of *nāyaka*) show that he was a local Tamil chief, but he had the status of a *piradāni* (minister) which must have been bestowed on him by the Vijayanagar king or governor (*mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*) of the larger territory, and later he became an agent of Narasā Nāyaka who was *de facto* king. He had authority over the local magnates who held the title *arayan.* These local magnates might have been leading members of the *nāṭṭavar*, as we find the titles Koṅgarāya and Kachchirāya among the *nāṭṭavar*s appearing in the Kaṇmāḷa inscriptions.

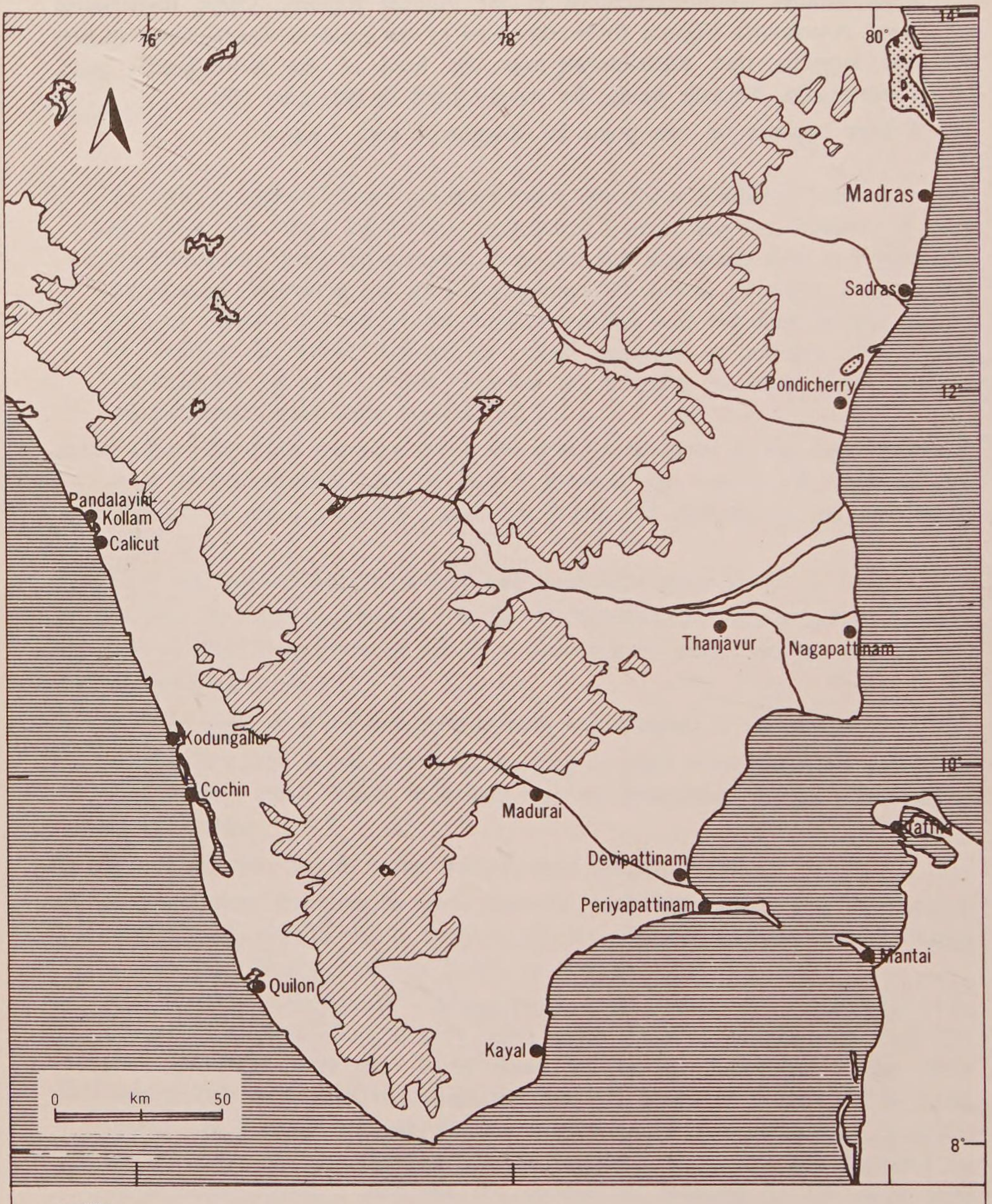
Two important aspects, namely the increased strength of artisan communities such as weavers and smiths, and a facet of the ruling structure of the contemporary state, are revealed by our inscriptions.

NOTES

1. As will be shown later, in some cases the term *nāṭṭār* is employed and in others the terms *nāṭṭavar* or *nāṭṭilavar*. In the following, however, I shall use mainly the term *nāṭṭavar*, since it is the most commonly seen in Vijayanagar inscriptions. Moreover, in four inscriptions the names of other local bodies such as *tānattār*, *mahājanas*, also appear together with *nāṭṭavar*. In this chapter an asterisk is placed against the term *nāṭṭavars* to indicate their being accompanied by such leaders, instead of referring to them each time as *'nāṭṭavar* and other local leaders.'
2. Neither the Śaka era nor the cyclic year is readable in the text. However, it is more probable that it comes between the month of Chittirai and Tai of the same year than after the month of Paṅguni of the next cyclic year.
3. They are blacksmiths, carpenters and goldsmiths respectively.
4. Though they are not specified in ins. 1, Pañchālattārs usually include braziers and masons in addition to the three professions mentioned in note 3.
5. See Chapter 8 above.
6. For the decline of Brāhmaṇa landlords, see Chapter 6 above.
7. *Uḍaiyār* is a title usually taken by the king or some other important personage such as the chief. *Vāsal mudalipēr* may be interpreted as the chief officer of the palace.
8. See Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, p. 27.
9. Judging from the locality and year of each inscription, this Krishṇappa (Krishṇama) Nāyaka is a member of the Gingee Nāyakas, whose father is Vaiyappa Nāyaka and son Koṇḍama Nāyaka.
10. A possible alternative interpretation is that the Kaikkōḷas in Peṇṇaikkarai-rājyam had already been given these privileges and that the same privileges were now being asked for by the Kaikkōḷas of the three *parrus*. The reading in the transcripts which I consulted is doubtful in some places and I could not see the ink impression of the inscription. However, as the area of the three *parrus* is supposed to have been included in Peṇṇaikkarai-rājyam, I interpret the passage as referring to the same area by another name.
11. Although Vijaya Ramaswamy refers to these inscriptions in her book, *Textiles and Weavers in Medieval South India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1985, she depended on the *Annual Reports* and not on the text of the inscriptions. Some strange mistakes are found in the *Annual Reports*. For example *AR* 1925 says, in the summary of No. 422, that the honour was given to the Kaikkōḷas in response to their representation to 'Aṟamaḷatta Nāyinār at Kāñchīpuram'. The summary of No. 162 of *AR* 1918 says 'Aṟamvaḷartta Nāyinār, having petitioned to a certain Kaṅgarāyar'. Based on

these strange misinterpretations in the *Annual Reports*, Vijaya Ramaswamy takes Aṟamaḷatta Nāyinār to be the head of the guild at Kāñchīpuram (p.105) and suggests that Kachchirāyar was the head of the Kāñchīpuram guild, Aṟamvaḷartta Nāyanār being the overall head (p.194, note 70).

12. I have touched on this point in Chapters 1 and 7 above.



Map 6 Coastal discoveries of Chinese ceramic-sherds

CHAPTER 10

DEVELOPMENT OF OVERSEAS TRADE

Inscriptional Evidence

During the Vijayanagar period many foreign visitors including Arabs, Chinese and Europeans, described the activities of South Indian merchants and their trade with foreign countries. Inscriptions recording the grant of taxes on the commodities sold in *pēṭṭais* (markets) or *sandais* (fairs) to temples by the Vijayanagar kings or *nāyaka*s as their charities also reveal the brisk trade taking place. There is no doubt, therefore, about the growth of trade between South India and overseas countries during the Vijayanagar period, although recent studies have concentrated on the pre-Vijayanagar period,[1] or otherwise focussed on trade by European merchants during the seventeenth century. I shall here examine several inscriptions which afford some information directly regarding the foreign trade conducted by various merchants in the Tamil country. Information obtained from Chinese ceramic potsherds discovered in the coastal towns (Map 6) will also be considered.

Three inscriptions concerning the merchants of Tirukkalukkunram and Sadiravasaganpattinam (Sadras), both in Chingleput District (Map 3), which belong to the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries will be examined first. One inscription from Tirukkaḷukkuṉṟam (*AR* 1933-170, A.D. 1374) recorded a new mode of payment of commercial taxes by the Kaikkōḷas (weavers) living in Tirukkalukkunram, which was introduced either by the king (Kumāra Kampaṇa) or some local chief who ruled this locality under him. It listed the taxes payable by the Kaikkōḷas as *paṭṭaḍai-nūlāyam* (tax on industrial products), *āṭṭai-sammādam* (annual presents), *pēr-sammādam* (presents by individuals) and *mādaviraṭṭi-adiyamādam* (payment for intercalary month) and further stipulated that they include taxes on the cloth taken to Paṭṭiṇam (Sadras) for sale, the commodities brought from Paṭṭiṇam and the paddy purchased from various places. Finally, it fixed the amount of these combined taxes as 70 *paṇam* per year. It is clear from this inscription that weavers went to the nearby port to sell their cloth and to purchase everyday necessities.

Apart from the Kaikkōḷas, various other people residing in

Tirukkaḷukkuṉṟam engaged in production and commerce. Another Tirukkalukkunram inscription (*SII*, xxvi, 65, A.D. 1406) makes this point clear. While recording the grant of revenue accruing from taxes payable by various communities in Tirukkaḷukkuṉṟam to the Nāyanār temple by an agent of the king, it specified communities such as Cheṭṭiyaḷ (merchants), Kaikkōḷar (weavers), Kavaṟaiyaḷ (merchants), Kachchavaḍa-vāṇiyar (retail merchants), Sekku-vāṇiyar (oil merchants) and Sēnaikkaḍaiyar (betel-leaf sellers). This indicates that Tirukkaḷukkuṉṟam, famous for the Nāyanār temple in the town, and more so for the Perumāḷ temple on a nearby hilltop, must also have flourished as a commercial centre which connected the famous seaport, Sadras, with many important towns along the Palar river including Vēḷūr and Kāñchīpuram.

Another Tirukkalukkunram inscription (*AR* 1933-173, A.D. 1376) provided useful information on the activities of merchants in Sadras. It recorded the decision made by the *ūravar* (representative residents of the town) and corporate merchant bodies called *paradēsigaḷ* (merchants coming from outside) and *nānādēsigaḷ* (merchants of many directions), concerning their contribution to the worship and repairs of the hilltop Perumāḷ temple in Tirukkaḷukkuṉṟam. They decided to assign to the temple a set amount of money obtainable through the sale of commodities such as pearls, cloth, oil and merchandise of various countries, which were taxable by the government. They stipulated the rates of the assignment which differed according to the kind of commodity as follows: for cloth (*puḍavai*), one-tenth of a *paṇam* for 100 *paṇam* of the estimated price (*madi*); for oil and others, three-twentieths of a *paṇam* for a 100 *paṇam* of the actual price,[2] and for bales of cloth (*puḍavai-kaṭṭu*), four-tenths of a *paṇam* per bale. This inscription conveys a picture of a brisk trade carried on by local merchants as well as merchants coming to Sadras from various places.

Similar activity is recorded in a sixteenth-century inscription in Nagalapuram in the Arani valley in the northern part of Chingleput District. Merchant activity recorded in this inscription (*SII*, xvii, 679, A.D. 1521) was on a grander scale than that reported by the previous inscription. The merchants who are stated in this inscription to have decided to make their contributions to the Kariyamāṇikka-perumāḷ temple in Harivāsapuram (Nagalapuram) were corporate bodies of merchants (*nagarattārs*) coming from Chandragiri-rājyam, Paḍaivīḍu-(rājyam), Chōḷamaṇḍalam and other regions (*pala-maṇḍalam*), and

represented by leading merchants (*paṭṭaṇasvāmigaḷ*) including Sittam Seṭṭiyār, Ilakshmipati Seṭṭiyār, Peṅkaṇḍai Seṭṭiyār, Paṭṭappiḷḷai Seṭṭiyār, Paḷavēṟkāṭṭu (Pulicut)-svāmigaḷ, Ulagu Seṭṭiyār, Nārāyana Seṭṭiyār and Tiruvattippiḷḷai Seṭṭiyār, who all belonged to the Vaiśya group of the northern country. They assembled in the precincts of the temple and decided to contribute to the expenses of a festival in honour of the deity in the temple *maṇḍapam* they had established. Contributions were stipulated as follows: in each town (*ūr*) every large house should give one *paṇam*, every second-class house three fourths of a *paṇam*, third-class houses a half *paṇam*, and fourth-class houses a quarter *paṇam*; and in ports like Anandarāyan-paṭṭaṇam *alias* Paḷavēṟkāḍu (Pulicut), one *paṇam* should be collected for each bale of cloth loaded onto sailing-ships (*toṅgu-kappal*) and a quarter *paṇam* for (other) out-going commodities. This is one of the most detailed descriptions available from inscriptions of the foreign trade on the Coromandel coast during the Vijayanagar period.

We have two more inscriptions which provide some information on commodities and their consumers. One belongs to the Veṅkatēśvara temple in Tirupati (*TTDI*, v, 154, A.D. 1554) and the other to the Ēkāmbaranātha temple in Kanchipuram (*SITI*-446, A.D. 1586). The Tirupati inscription recorded the king's order for the remission of certain taxes placed on nine types of aromatic merchandise (*navasaranyasavargam teppattu sarakku*)[3] bought from various places for the temple. The places included Señji, Tiruvadi, Bōnagiri-paṭṭaṇam, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, Kāñchīpuram, Pāḷaiyam, Paḷavēṟkāḍu, Mudupaṅkarai-paṭṭaṇam, Koṇḍavīḍu and others located in Chandragiri-rājyam, Paḍaivīḍu-rājyam, Chōḷamaṇḍalam and other regions including coastal Andhra. But it should be noted that some ambiguity in the spelling of some of these place names makes it difficult to pinpoint their exact location. The taxes remitted included *āyam* (general term for commercial taxes), *anuppu* (that which is sent), *uḷḷāyam* (local *āyam*), *pērāyam* (*āyam* per person), *magamai* (voluntary contribution), *mūlaivīsam* (one-sixteenth on capital) and *taragu* (commission). From the context of this inscription and other evidence, *āyam* and *anuppu* seem to have been general terms applicable to all these taxes.[4] In this record the taxes on some articles such as *teppattu*, *pachchaivaḍam* (cloth), *ney* (ghee) and *eṇṇei* (oil) were excluded from the remission.

The Kanchipuram inscription records a similar order issued by Achchuttappayya Nāyaka and executed by his agent. This Nāyaka

exempted merchandise brought to the Ēkāmbaranātha temple and the Kāmākshi Amman temple in Kāñchīpuram from *āyam* and *anuppu* taxes. The merchandise stipulated included camphor (*kaṟpūram*), civet (*punugusaṭṭam*), musk (*kastūri*), scent (*pannīr*, rose water?), kumkum powder (*kuṅgumappū*), frankincense (*sāmpurāṇi*) and two kinds of silk cloth (*sallā-paṭṭu* and *paṭṭāvaḷi*).

These two inscriptions of Tirupati and Kanchipuram make it clear that the temples purchased these imported commodities. Besides these three very famous temples, the Tamil country boasted many other wealthy temples in those days which would have been the chief consumers of foreign merchandise, along with the royal palace, and *nāyaka* households located in many important places. A large number of temples were renovated and enlarged during the Vijayanagar period, and Kaikkōḷas and other artisan communities were invited to reside in their precincts or the villages owned by them.[5] As the Tirukkalukkunram inscriptions suggest, many markets must have been established in these temple towns to serve the pilgrim trade. The rise of such markets must have stimulated the growth of foreign trade, and vice versa.

Testimony of Chinese Ceramic Sherds

The discovery of Chinese potsherds was reported only sporadically in India and no systematic studies have been made in the past. The export of Chinese ceramics specially made for overseas trade seems to have started from the ninth century and increased greatly from the thirteenth century. We find a large quantity of such potsherds in various places in Asia and Africa including al-Fustat in Egypt, Siraf in Iran, Bhambore in Pakistan, and Mantai in Sri Lanka.[6] *Daoyi Zhilue*, a fourteenth-century Chinese work describing the conditions of the southern sea countries, testified to the export of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain to one of the ports on the Malabar coast.[7]

In 1985, Y. Subbarayalu, Professor of Tamil University, discovered by chance a good number of Chinese potsherds in Periyapattinam, a small village on the Gulf of Mannar to the west of Mandapam. They were mostly fine specimens of celadon pieces from the Longquan kilns and blue-and-white pieces from the Jingdezhen kilns, both located in southern China, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Two years later Subbarayalu conducted trial excavations in the village, during which roughly 1,000 sherds were collected; 500 pieces were

picked up from the surface. Of these 1,500 sherds, 60 per cent are celadon from the Longquan and Fujian kilns, 15 per cent are white porcelain from the Dehua and Jingdezhen kilns, 10 per-cent blue-and-white from the Jingdezhen kilns and another 10 per cent brown-glazed ones from the Guangdong kilns. Some typical fourteenth-century Yuan blue-and-white sherds were obtained from the lowest stratum of a testpit, which indicated that most of the celadons can also be ascribed to the fourteenth century. From the surface, however a white porcelain bottom sherd ascribable to the ninth or tenth century was discovered.[8]

I have identified Periyapattinam with Dabadan, a port described in *Daoyi Zhilue*, and also with the Fattan described by Ibn Battuta in his Travels, on the basis of this discovery and other grounds.[9] On the surface at Palaya-Kayal, to the south of Periyapattinam in Tirunelveli District, many sherds of Chinese celadon, white porcelain and brown glazed porcelain have been found, but none of the blue-and-white, which suggests that Palaya-Kayal flourished only in the thirteenth century, not during the fourteenth century and after. In Devipattinam and Nagapattinam, to the north of Periyapattinam, however, we found a good number of blue-and-white Chinese ceramic sherds dating from the sixteenth century and after.

In Madras I had the opportunity to examine the Chinese ceramic sherds obtained from the precincts of Darasuram temple in Thanjavur District and the ruins of Velur fort in North Arcot District through exacavations conducted by the Archaeological Survey of India. While those discovered in Darasuram include *qingbai* sherds of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, those in Velur include very good specimens of Jingdezhen blue-and-white and also multi-coloured pieces belonging to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Archaeological Survey of India also discovered some good pieces of the Jingdezhen blue-and-white from the ruins of the Golconda fort in Hyderabad. Most pieces are ascribable to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology conducted excavations at Gangaikondacholapuram in Tiruchirappalli District and obtained from the Chola palace site many sherds of fine *Yingqing* type white porcelain from the Jingdezhen kilns ascribable to the eleventh or twelfth century.

We also discovered in Kerala a number of Chinese ceramic sherds in coastal towns such as Dharmadam, Pandalayini-Kollam, Calicut, Kodungallur and Quilon.[10] Raghava Varier of Calicut University dug

some trial pits in Pandalayini-Kollam, which yielded some Yuan blue-and-white sherds of the fourteenth century together with celadon pieces of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. In the same town near the place where a Chinese temple (Chīna-paḷḷi) seems to have stood, we found a large number of blue-and-white sherds, mostly of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Trichur Archaeological Museum of the Kerala State Department of Archaeology preserves some pieces of Chinese celadon sherds excavated from Kodungallur and ascribable to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[11] In Quilon some good pieces of Chinese ceramic sherd were obtained from the section of the ground exposed on the seashore in front of the lighthouse at Tangacheri. They include a fine specimen of fourteenth-century celadon produced for export, and some good pieces of *fu-yan* blue-and-white dishes from the Jingdezhen kilns ascribable to the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. One small sherd picked up from the surface behind the lighthouse has the date written in Chinese characters.[12]

All these recent discoveries of Chinese ceramic sherds at various places in South India provide tangible evidence of continuous foreign trade during the Chola and Vijayanagar periods.

Historical Implications

As mentioned earlier, a large number of Chinese potsherds belonging to the ninth century have also been discovered in Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Apart from a few stray sherds of porcelain picked up in Periyapattinam, which may be datable to the ninth or tenth century, the earliest pieces discovered in India seem to belong to the eleventh or twelfth century. They are sherds of fine *yingqing* or *qingbai* white porcelain discovered at the Chola palace site in Gangaikonda-cholapuram and the Darasuram temple precincts. It is well-known that powerful Chola kings such as Rājarāja I and Rājēndra I sent envoys to the Chinese court during the eleventh century.[13] The envoys seem to have included many merchants whose missions must have been to increase foreign trade.[14] The activities of the merchant guild called Maṇigrāmam are recorded in inscriptions discovered in Sri Lanka and on the Malay peninsula. Their overseas activities can be traced back even earlier, to the ninth or tenth centuries.

For the thirteenth century we have another Chinese work, the *Zhufan Zhi*, which describes conditions in foreign countries and the

commodities obtainable through trade with them. It mentions trade with Quilon and other countries (ports) on the coast of India. Marco Polo in his Travels gave a vivid description of Cail (Kayal) and other ports. Articles of trade that he specifically mentioned included pearls produced in the Gulf of Mannar, diamonds obtained in the Krishna valley in Andhra Pradesh, and horses from Arabia and Persia. As to the import of a large number of horses into the Pandyan kingdom, the Persian historians, Wassaf and Rashid al-Din, have left testimony.[15] *Daoyi Zhilue* described a brick tower in Tu-fa (Nagapattinam?) which had an inscription in Chinese characters,[16] which is said to have given the date of construction of the tower as the third year of Xianchun (A.D. 1267). On the other hand, a Tamil inscription was discovered in Quanzhou (Zayton), a famous medieval port in southern China, which recorded the establishment of a Śiva temple there in 1281 by a person called Sambanda Perumāḷ *alias* Tavachchakravarti.[17]

All these facts suggest that foreign trade flourished from the Chola period onwards between South India and the countries of both East and West. We have then to relate this development of foreign trade with the socio-economic changes taking place in contemporary South India for a better understanding of the historical implications. That is as important as getting a clearer picture of active foreign trade from various sources, since it concerns the definition of feudalism as well.[18] However, this challenging task is yet to be undertaken; here I can only suggest some ideas for further studies.

In the heyday of Chola rule during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Maṇigrāmam and Ayyavōḷe merchant guilds were very active.[19] However, in the latter half of the twelfth century some change seems to have occurred; the merchants became associated with a group of landholders who were becoming powerful private landowners and were organized as Chitramēḷi-periyanāḍu. This new tendency become stronger in Tamilnadu during the thirteenth century, when the *periyanāṭṭār*s and *nāṭṭavar*s became very prominent as Chola rule broke down and political anarchy set in. However, the thirteenth century witnessed the growth in importance of artisans who were later organized into the Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai groups. The development of crafts and industries such as weaving and oil-pressing during the fourteenth century is indicated by the increasing references to revenue terms concerning them and also to community names such as Kaikkōḷa (weaver) and Vāṇiyar (oilmonger) that appeared

in the inscriptions.[20] Accordingly, the activities of merchants organized into the Maṇigrāmam guild ceased during this century. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries marked a significant transition period during which the socio-economy of South India underwent important changes.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, there arose many conflicts between the two classes in Tamilnadu society – the invading Vijayanagar administrators and big landholders on the one hand, and the artisans and cultivators on the other – as we have seen in Chapter 8 above. However, with the establishment of *nāyaka* rule in the latter half of the fifteenth century, this kind of social conflict was no longer referred to in the inscriptions. European traders started their activities from the sixteenth century when *nāyaka* rule was established in the Tamil country, introducing a new factor into the South Indian economy.[21] We have seen above that the brisk trade in cloth and aromatic goods was recorded in inscriptions during this period. Horses continued to be imported.[22] Under *nāyaka* rule, therefore, a social formation generated in earlier centuries seems to have become dominant. However, the fall of the Vijayanagar kingdom and political interference by European powers during the seventeenth century together with the tremendous expansion of foreign trade,[23] seem to have caused a change in South Indian society once again, leading towards the destruction or modification of the formation established in the sixteenth century.

NOTES

1. Two examples of this kind of study are R. Champakalakshmi, 'Urbanisation in South India: The Role of Ideology and Polity,' Presidential Address, Section I, Indian History Congress, 47th Session, 1986; and Meera Abraham, *Two Medieval Merchant Guilds of South India*, New Delhi, 1988.
2. Mahalingam, referring to this inscription, incorrectly gives the rates of taxes as 10% for the sale of cloth and 15% for the sale of oil. T. V. Mahalingam, *Administration and Soical Life Under Vijayanagar*, Pt. II, Madras, 1975, p. 165.
3. The meaning given here is a tentative one.
4. In the latter half of this inscription only *āyam* and *anuppu* are mentioned as the taxes remitted; similarly in the Kanchipuram inscription.
5. See Chapter 1 above.

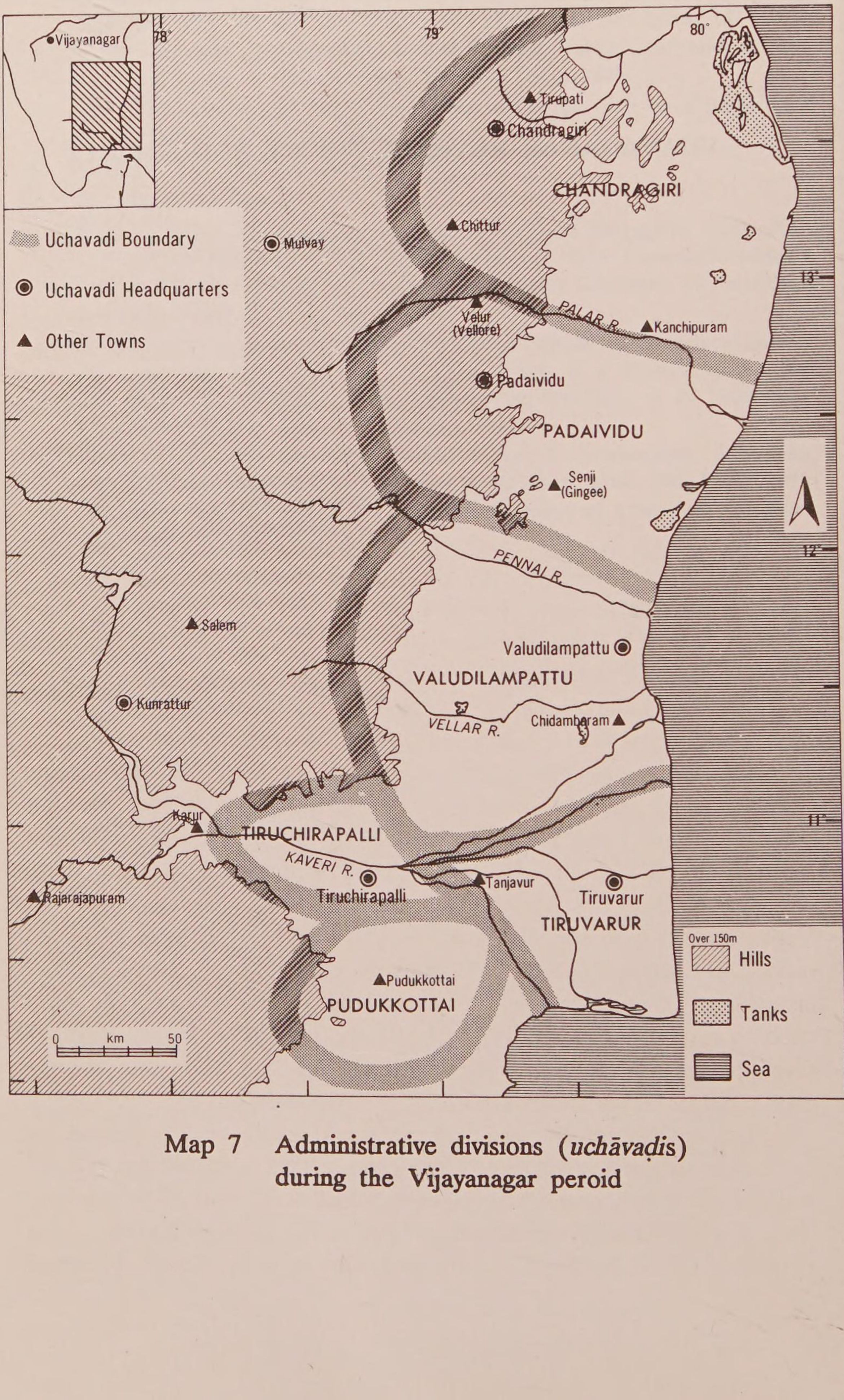
6. Tsugio Mikami, 'China and Egypt: Fustat', *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society 1980–81*, pp. 67–89; D. Whitehouse, 'Excavation at Siraf: First Interim Report', *Iran*, VI, 1968, and second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth reports in *Iran*, vols. VII, VIII, IX, X and XII, 1969–72 and 1974; F. A. Khan, *Bhambore*, Dept. of Archaeology and Museum, 4th ed., Karachi, 1976; and J. Carswell and M. E. Prickett, 'Mantai 1980: A Preliminary Investigation', *Ancient Ceylon*, 5, 1984.
7. Su Jiquing, *Daoyi Zhilue Jiaoshi* (Critical edition with notes of Wang Dayuan's Daoyi Zhilue), Beijing, 1981, p. 321.
8. Important sherds are described in Y. Aoyagi and Y. Kanazawa, 'Chinese Ceramics Discovered on the Coromandel Coast in India' (in Japanese), *Trade Ceramics Studies*, 8, Tokyo, 1980.
9. N. Karashima, 'Periyapattinam: A South Indian Coastal Village – Discovery of Chinese Potsherds and Its Identification with Ta pa-tan and Fattan' (in Japanese), *Tohogaku*, 75, Tokyo, 1988; and 'Trade Relations Between South India and China During the 13th and 14th Centuries', *Journal of East-West Maritime Relations*, 1, Tokyo, 1989.
10. Karashima, 'Discovery of Chinese Potsherds on the Malabar Coast in India' (in Japanese), *Museum*, ed. Tokyo National Museum, 462, Tokyo, 1989 and Y. Aoyagi and H. Ogawa, 'Chinese Trade Ceramics of the 13th and 14th Centuries discovered on the Malabar Coast in India' (in Japanese), *Journal of East-West Maritime Relations*, 1, Tokyo, 1989.
11. The excavations during which these ceramic sherds were obtained is reported in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Cochin State, for the Year 1944–45, 1945–46* and *1946–47*, Ernakulam, 1947, 1947 and 1948.
12. The three Chinese characters, Da-Ming-Wan, are clearly visible, from which we can safely deduce that the piece was produced during the Wan-li period (A.D. 1573–1619) of the Ming dynasty.
13. Four envoys are recorded in Chinese sources as reaching China and presenting pearls, ivory and other precious things to the Chinese emperor in 1015, 1020, 1033 and 1077. N. Karashima, 'Relations between South India and China in Chola Times', *Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri Felicitation Volume*, Madras, 1971. However, a Chinese inscription in Guangzhou casts doubt on the arrival of Chinese envoys in 1077 (Sumio Fukami, 'Reexamination of San-fo-ch'i' [in Japanese], *Tōnan Ajia Kenkyū*, 25-2, 1987).
14. The number of Chola envoys and their followers who reached China in 1077 is recorded in a Chinese source as twenty-seven.
15. For Wassaf, see H. M. Elliot, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, vol. III, London, 1871, pp. 32 and 33; and for Rashid al-Din, *ibid.*, vol. I, London, 1867, p. 69.
16. Su Jiqing, *Daoyi Zhilue Jiaoshi*, p. 285. It is a well-known fact that a ruined brick tower locally called the China Pagoda remained standing in Nagapattinam till the middle of the nineteenth century. Henri Corider, *Ser Marco Polo*, London, 1920, p. 114.
17. T. N. Subramaniam, 'A Tamil Colony in Medieval China', R. Nagaswamy (ed.), *South Indian Studies* (vol. I), Madras, 1978; and N. Karashima, 'Relations

between South India and China at the End of the Thirteenth Century: Concerning the Chuan-Chou Tamil Inscription and Description of Mabar in the Yuan-shih' (in Japanese), *Studies in Asian History dedicated to Prof. Dr Kazuo Enoki on his Seventieth Brithday*, Tokyo, 1988.

18. Many Marxist historians regard the decline of foreign trade as a prerequisite for the development of feudalism.
19. Abraham, *Two Medieval Merchant Guilds.*
20. See Chapter 11 below.
21. Recently Sanjay Subrahmanyam published a study of Portuguese Coromandel trade in the sixteenth century. S. Subrahmanyam, 'The Coromandel-Malacca trade in the 16th Century: A Study of its Evolving Structure', *Moyen Orient & Ocean Indien XVIe– XIXes*, 3, 1986.
22. A wall of the *gōpuram* of Tiruppudaimarudur temple in Tirunelveli District has a painting of an Arab ship carrying horses. It is datable to the late 16th century. S. Haraharan, 'Tiruppudaimarudur Paintings,' in R. Nagaswamy (ed.), *South Indian Studies*, II, Madras, 1979.
23. Recent studies on Coromandel trade include S. Arasaratnam, *Merchants, Companies and Commerce on the Coromandel Coast 1650– 1740*, Delhi, 1986, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Political Economy of Commerce: Southern India, 1500 – 1650*, Cambridge, 1990.

III

VIJAYANAGAR REVENUE POLICY AND SOCIETY



Map 7 Administrative divisions (*uchāvaḍis*) during the Vijayanagar peroid

CHAPTER 11

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF REVENUE TERMS IN INSCRIPTIONS

A research project on the Vijayanagar revenue terms appearing in inscriptions in the northern and central parts of Tamilnadu and a small part of the adjoining Andhra Pradesh was conducted jointly with Y. Subbarayalu and P. Shanmugam. Studies had earlier been made of the revenue terms in Chola inscriptions[1] and Pandyan revenue terms in the Tiruchirapalli and Pudukkottai Districts,[2] where the statistical method was applied to obtain a general picture of the revenue systems of those dynasties as well as of trends in administrative policy, and the economy. Analysis of the chronological and regional distribution of frequently-occurring terms provided us with some interesting facts on the socio-economic changes that occurred in those days. The same statistical method has been employed here to analyse the distribution pattern of revenue terms.

As important as use of the statistical method, if not more so, is examination of the original source material. Since the publication of *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagar* by N. Venkataramanayya in 1935, which must be regarded as one of the most important contributions to Vijayanagar history, little comparable progress has been made. Most studies have been lacking in the examination of original texts of inscriptions or other indigenous source material, which Venkataramanayya had done.[3] What is now required is fresh empirical studies examining the original texts, particularly the inscriptions. Since the materials examined by Venkataramanayya are mostly in Telugu and the picture he depicted reflects the situation of the Telugu region, the examination of Tamil inscriptions in the original is of the utmost importance. We have tried to examine as many original texts as possible and this, together with the application of the statistical method, has made our findings very different from those achieved by previous studies.

In our analysis of the regional distribution pattern we depend on the major administrative unit of the time, called *uchāvaḍi* (or *rājya*),[4] and our study concerns Chandragiri-uchāvaḍi (Cn), Paḍaivīḍu-uchāvaḍi (Pv), Vaḷudilampaṭṭu-uchāvaḍi (Vp), Tiruvārūr-uchāvaḍi and Tiruchirāpaḷḷi-uchāvaḍi (TT). We have also included the Pudukkottai

region (Pd) which was on the fringe of the Vijayanagar region. In view of the similar ecology and also the fewer number of inscriptions for the Tiruchirāpaḷḷi- and Tiruvārūr-uchāvaḍis they are combined to form one unit (TT) for examination. The area thus selected comprises the present districts of Chingleput, North Arcot, South Arcot, Tiruchirapalli, Thanjavur and Pudukkottai, the eastern part of Salem District and a major part of the Chittoor District (Map 7).

The period covered, A.D. 1301 – 1650, is divided into seven sections, each covering fifty years. Though period I (1301 – 50) does not yield any Vijayanagar inscriptions, we have included this period in our study for comparison, for there are (in Pv) a good number of Sambuvaraya inscriptions of a period immediately preceding Vijayanagar rule.[5] For the purpose of this study, the number of available inscriptions collected by epigraphists amounts to nearly 2,900; the texts of about 1,700 have been published.[6] Though the rest remain unpublished, we were able to read and use the transcripts of about 70 per cent of them through the courtesy of the Director of Epigraphy and the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore. Thus we checked the texts of 2,510 inscriptions, of which 449 of the Vijayanagar kings and 32 of the Sambuvarāyas yield revenue terms.

Ten tables which show the chronological and regional distribution of revenue terms in the inscriptions are included in the Appendices. We discuss below the problems discernible from the data given in the tables.

General Trends

The largest number of inscriptions yielding revenue terms belong to period V (1501 – 50), the heyday of the Vijayanagar empire, and this is related first of all to the *nāyaka*s, as will be shown later, and to some extent to the tax remissions granted by Krishṇadēvarāya and Achyutadēvarāya to many temples. There is not much difference in the number of inscriptions for periods III (1401 – 50) and V. The decline of the number in period IV (1451 – 1500) may reflect the troubled conditions caused by the Oḍḍa (Oriyan) invasions in 1463 – 4. But the steep decline in the number of inscriptions for period VI (1551 – 1600) compared to period V is due to the disturbed conditions after the battle of Rakshasi-Tangadi in 1565. The smallest number, for period VII (1601 – 50), is of course due to the declining power of the empire.

As regards the general trends indicated by the distribution pattern of revenue terms in those inscriptions, we can say that periods II and III constituted the time when the Vijayanagar government was working their revenue policy on a trial and error basis, judging from the variety of the terms and the infrequency of their occurrence. In period II (1351 – 1400), i.e., at the initial stage of Vijayanagar rule in the Tamil area, it is found that nearly 40 per cent of the 139 revenue terms used in the earlier Sambuvarāya times were discontinued. These seem to have been replaced by fresh terms, which were in many cases different in substance as well.[7] Actually it is in period III (1401 – 50) that some significant new revenue terms like *jōḍi* (*sōḍi*), *varttanai* and a variety of terms with the suffix *kāṇikkai* were introduced. The development of the economy in that period is obvious from the imposition of so many taxes.

Interestingly, the largest number of different terms is found in period IV (1451 – 1500). That seems, however, to be due to the imposition of many new taxes by local chiefs in Chōḻamaṇḍalam, like Sāḷuva Tirumalai and Kōnēridēva (Chapter 4 above), who were *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*s originally and became independent to some extent during the reigns (1447 – 85) of the weak kings, Mallikārjuna and Virūpāksha II.

Compared to period IV there is a considerable decrease in the number of terms in period V (1501 – 50). This may suggest that some changes took place in the system of rule and the revenue policy of the government.

The steep decrease in the number of terms and in their occurrence for period VI can be explained to some extent by the sharp decrease in the number of tax-term yielding inscriptions, which is attributable to the disturbed conditions of the time (as mentioned earlier). It is known, however, that normally tax terms tend to increase under such conditions, as may be noted in period IV, and the decrease in the number of terms and in their occurrence in period VI may require some other explanation such as the change in the system itself.

The regional distribution pattern reveals the most interesting fact that in Paḍaivīḍu(Pv)-and Vaḻudilampaṭṭu(Vp)-uchāvaḍis a much greater number of revenue terms is found and their frequency is also much greater. It reflects the difference existing between the regions of Pv and Vp and that of Cn, TT and Pd in the studied

area, and may imply some peculiar politico-economic structure existing in the former region. This point will be discussed later.

Analysis of Select Terms

The total number of revenue terms found in the Chola period (850 – 1279) is 422 and that in the Pandyan inscriptions (1200 – 1350) in Tiruchirāpaḷḷi and Pudukkottai Districts is 198.[8] The number of Vijayanagar revenue terms (635) is much greater. Table 2 (Appendix 1), however, indicates that many of them occur only once or twice: the number of terms with a frequency of less than 10 amounts to 562 (88 per cent); and it is very difficult to base an argument on this low frequency. However, this does show the arbitrary nature of Vijayanagar revenue policy, especially during periods II and IV. The low frequency of many terms in period II can be explained by the arbitrary exploitation of the people by many *adikāri*s and that in period IV by the imposition of many new taxes by semi-independent governors in the lower Kaveri valley.

There are, however, 39 terms of which the frequency exceeds 20 (Appendix 1, Table 3), and for which we can argue the tendency to a certain extent. The same argument is possible for the several related groups of terms, which have the same word as its first component and each of which has a frequency of more than 20 as a group. There are 18 such groups (Appendix 1, Table 4). Although many of the terms in Tables 3 and 4 are widely distributed in time and space, some show a peculiar tendency. Terms and groups like *āsupodumakkaḷ-pērkkaḍamai*, *arisikāṇam*, *inavari*, the *nāṭṭu* group, *ponvari*, the *ūrkaṇakku* group, *vari*, and the *vāsal* group were very common under Sambuvarāya rule.[9] Of these, *ūrkaṇakku* is a unique example which disappears completely after the advent of the Vijayanagar government. Others continue into subsequent periods, but *arisikāṇam* and *inavari* end in period IV. Some terms like *kāṇikkai*, *maravaḍai/māvaḍai*, *nañjey/puñjey* and *paḷavari/puduvari*, which also appear in period I and which, except for *kāṇikkai*, are commonly included in the records of village grants as taxes exempted or imposed,[10] increase in the subsequent periods in proportion to the increase of land grants and tax remissions in those periods. On the other hand, terms like *āḷamañji*, *āyam*, *and kaḍamai*, continue with more or less even frequency up to the end of period V.[11]

Of the 13 terms newly introduced by the Vijayanagar government

in period II, a few such as *iṟai* and *viniyōgam*, are not new,[12] in the sense that they are found in earlier Chola and Pāndya inscriptions. But others are significantly new, e.g. *iḍaitturai*, *sādam* and *talaiyārikkam*.[13] There are four terms, *kaṭṭāyam*, *kuḷavaḍai*, *nattam* and *jōḍi*, which began to appear only from period III.[14]

As for the time range of the 39 terms, most of them continue to the end of period V and only 20 of them are found in period VI with a few in period VII also. Though the reduced number in period VI is to be expected from the general decrease of terms and inscriptions, the disappearance of the *arasu-pēṟu* group, *jōḍi*, *sūlavari*, *nal-erudu*, *nal-pasu*, the *vāsal* group, *veṭṭi* and *viniyōgam*, is significant[15] and can be explained in some cases on the basis of some change in the politico-economic structure following period V.

If we take up the terms related to industry and commerce, most of them, namely *āyam* (Table 5) and the groups of *paṭṭaḍai* (workshop), *sekku* (oil press), and *taṟi* (weaving) (Table 4: i, l, o) continue into period VI. The *taṟi* group appears even in period VII. *Paṭṭaḍai-nūlāyam*[16] does not appear in TT and PD at all. Though the other terms do appear in TT and Pd also, there is a marked concentration of them in Pv and Vp, showing the development of industry and commerce in these two *uchāvaḍi*s. The frequency is greater in Pv than in Vp. Table 5 on the *āyam* group also shows that industrial and commercial activities are more vigorous in Pv and Vp.

Herders (*iḍaiyar* and *manṟāḍi*) were usually considered as part of the *paṭṭaḍai* group. *Sādam* and *iḍaitturai* were terms used synonymously for the major tax levied on these people, which consisted of a number of taxes of which the conspicuous ones were *nal-āḍu*, *nal-erudu*, *nal-erumai*, *nal-pasu* and *nal-kiḍā*. Taking these taxes (Table 4: e, g, k) together, they are found in periods I to V, more prominently from periods III to V, and they are concentrated in regions Pv and Vp and to some extent in Cn also, reflecting their closer connection with the dry-land zone and also their association with invading Vijayanagar warrior communities.[17] The term *sādam* is peculiar to Pv.

Irēkai or *rēḵai*, which is more frequent in the later periods, is a synonym of *kaḍamai*, and denotes the whole amount taxed on a village or some other larger unit. *Upādi*, similar to *irēkai* in meaning but somewhat different in usage, is more popular in the earlier

periods. The increase of *irēkai* in the later periods may be explained by the practice of fixing in money the revenue of the assigned village or unit, which became popular in the sixteenth century.

Kāṇikkai, which appears most frequently in all regions, forms a separate group (Table 6) and should be regarded as the most important revenue item of the Vijayanagar period. The term *kāṇikkai* which literally means 'presents' was certainly a euphemism as it was a great burden on people. Many complaints were recorded in inscriptions about the imposition of *kāṇikkai*, and there were instances of tax payers selling their property to pay this.[18] It actually formed a major component in a group of subsidiary taxes levied along with the major tax on land or on industries.[19] It was also demanded on many other pretexts, as may be understood from the 33 kinds of *kāṇikkai*. The number of these terms (not frequency) is greater in periods III and IV (fifteenth century) and its decrease (by nearly half) in period V may indicate some restructuring in taxation under the Tuḷuva dynasty in the sixteenth century. From the regional frequency we may say that the people of Vp suffered the most from arbitrary taxation.

In Tables 7 and 8 are listed the two groups of terms which have the suffixes *pēṟu* and *viniyōgam* respectively. The term *pēṟu* is used to denote a privileged position and also the right to receive and enjoy some revenue on that account. For example, *adikāri-pēṟu* is the tax demanded on account of the position of *adikāri* (officer). *Viniyogam* means 'expenses' and most terms denote levies on account of the expenses of some office. For example, *nāṭṭu-viniyōgam* is levied towards the expenses of the *nāḍu*. It is rather difficult, however, to argue the distribution pattern of these terms as groups, since many of them concern various levels and principles of taxation. We can say only that some of them were levied only by the Sambuvarāyas and that none continued into period VI.

The *varttanai* group of Table 9 is a more coherent one and is confined to periods III to V, showing a decreasing tendency both in number and frequency in period V. *Varttanai* (fees) concerns some payment to officials, and the distribution pattern of the terms of this group tallies with that of the 66 terms given in Table 10, in which we have collected all the taxes that seem to relate to officials, mostly of the central government.[20] Of the 66 terms, only three appear in period VI and each only once. Period V already shows a declining tendency both in the number of terms and their

frequency.[21] The highest frequency is recorded in period III. Even though classification of those officers whose name constitutes the suffix of the term into 'central' and 'local' is rather difficult in some cases,[22] The data in Table 10 as a whole can be interpreted as showing a decrease in the taxation imposed by officers directly connected with the king, *pradhāni* or *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* in the Tamil country in the sixteenth century. The number of occurrences is greatest in Vp; from this, we can say that the people of Vp were heavily taxed by the government in the fifteenth century.

Levels of Taxing Authority

From the many inscriptions recording tax remissions, we can presume that taxes were imposed by officials at different levels. We shall analyse these here with the hope that it may give us a better understanding of the Vijayanagar state structure. The tax levying/remitting authority worked at three levels, namely, the king's, the *nāyaka*'s and the *nāṭṭavar*'s. At the king's level, we include also remissions made by the *pradhanis*, *mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras* and other high-ranking officers of the central government and at the *nāyaka* level, those by chiefs who are known to have been influential in some locality, though they did not have the title *nāyaka*. We shall analyse the cases below dealing with them period-wise.

Period I (1301– 1350)

For the first period, we have 22 cases at the king's level[23] and 2 cases at the *nāṭṭavar*'s level.[24] At the king's level, Rājanārāyana Sambuvarāya is seen in 15 cases to remit the entire tax burden of villages granted to temples[25] and in others he remits the taxes in favour of temples on artisans and traders settled in temple villages or new markets established by him. Most of his orders are addressed to either the *nāṭṭavar* or *ūravar*.

At the *nāṭṭavar* level, in one case the *nāṭṭavar* decided to bear themselves the burden of certain taxes on a village as *nāṭṭiṟaiyili* in favour of a temple[26] and in another they did so on the order of the king (Sambuvarāya).[27]

Period II (1351– 1400)

From this period onwards the Vijayanagar kings began to grant remissions of taxes. Two inscriptions record their remission of all

the taxes on *agrahāra* villages,[28] two other inscriptions the remission of certain subsidiary taxes such as *kaivilai*, *ūḻiyam*, *uluppai* or *kāṇikkai*,[29] two more the assignment of *tiruviḷakku-kuḍi* (tvk) who supply milk and ghee to a temple and the remission of their tax,[30] and one the concession given to merchants and artisans who come to settle in a temple street.[31] The king's orders were mostly given to officers such as the *aḍaippam*.

*Mahāpradhāni*s, *pradhāni*s or some superior officers were also active in the remission of taxes in favour of temples, *maṭhā*s and Brāhmaṇas. There are twelve cases of this and in four of them the taxed items mainly concern trade and commerce.[32]

There is no instance at the *nāyaka* level, but we find three cases of tax remission at the *nāṭṭavar* level. The first is the *nāṭṭiṟaiyili* case,[33] the second the remission of *sādam* and other taxes from the tvk assigned to a temple by them[34] and the last relates to the remission of *nāṭṭu-viniyōgam* on some land.[35] In all these cases, no higher authority is referred to, but there are two more instances which show the *nāṭṭavar*'s involvement in the tax collection under the order of some higher authority.[36]

Period III (1401– 1450)

There are 16 cases of the king remitting taxes, most of which record the restoration of tax-exemption for temples which had suffered from the imposition of certain taxes by *adikāri*s and other officers in charge of local affairs. Relief was also given to the lower sections of society from heavy taxes.[37] *Praḍhāni*s, *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*s and other high-ranking officers continued to grant tax remission in this period and there are 14 such cases.[38] In three of them, a concession was given to the Kaikkōḷas and others settled in temple streets (*tirumaḍaiviḷāgam*). In some of the 14 inscriptions which concern high officers, the charity (tax remission or concession) was made for the king's health or in the king's name. This shows the increased power of the king in this period. Tax items remitted include *jōḍi*, *sūlavari* and *kāṇikkai*.

In this period we have 14 inscriptions of Paḍaivīḍu-uchāvaḍi, which record the assignment of tvk to temples by various officers: one case by a *daṇṇāyaka*,[39] three cases by an *iḍaittuṟai-adikāri* who collected *sādam* for the king,[40] one case by a *sādam* collector at the *rājyam* level,[41] two cases by a *sādam* collector at the *nāḍu* level,[42] three cases by that official at the *paṟṟu* level,[43] three cases by that

official at the village level,[44] and one by an *iḍaitṯuṟai adikāri* whose working level is unascertainable.[45] *Sādam*, the tax on herders, is seen mostly in Paḍaivīdu-uchāvaḍi, and we can perceive from the above the hierarchy of bureaucracy for collecting the *sādam* in that *uchāvaḍi.*

For this period we have 7 instances at the *nāyaka* level. But 4 of them concern local chiefs such as Kachchirāyar who did not have the designation of *nāyaka.*[46] In the remaining 3, one *nāyaka* informed the *nāṭṭavar* of his remission of *kāṇikkai,*[47] another *nāyaka* remitted the whole tax of a village for the health of a *daṇṇāyaka*, and yet another gave concessions to the Kaikkōḷas newly settled in a temple village in the *sīrmai* given him by the king.[48] In the last case, however, the *nāyaka* took an oath to the king while giving the concession. There are 13 instances in this period of the *nāṭṭavar*'s remitting certain taxes.[49] They sometimes associated themselves with other bodies like the Tandirimār or *sabhaiyār.* From these cases, we may be able to infer, though tentatively, that the revenue which they had the power of imposing or remitting included *nāṭṭu-kāṇikkai, nāṭṭu-viniyōgam, āṭṭai-kāṇikkai, paḻa-vari, pudu-vari, paṭṭiṟai, pāḍā vari, āḷ-amañji* and a few others.[50]

Period IV (1451– 1500)

The king's remission of taxes in favour of temples continued in this period and there are 10 cases of it.[51] The trouble caused by the *adikāri* officers is not referred to, but *avasarams* (special officers) were sent to many localities with the mission of remitting certain taxes including the *jōḍi* and *sūlavari* to relieve temples from the distress caused by the Oḍḍa invasion in 1463 – 4. There are three cases of village grants with their whole income.

Remissions by *mahāpradhāni*s and *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*s are recorded in 17 inscriptions.[52] Although two of them gave the merit to the king by their act of tax remission,[53] some of them seem to have become independent of the king's authority to some extent, as no ruling king is mentioned in the inscriptions of two *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*s in the lower Kaveri valley.[54] This seems to be related to the weakness of the king after Dēvarāya II and also to the Oḍḍa invasions. Their inscriptions provide the largest number of revenue items for a single case.[55]

There are three cases of *sādam* remission by the *sādam* collector (*iḍaitṯuṟai*) at the *rājyam* level.[56] In one case the *sādam* is specified

as including *nal-erudu*, *nal-pasu*, *nal-kiḍā*, *mugampārvai*, *paṭṭappādi*, *viniyōgam*, *jōḍi* and other *sammādam*.[57]

Tax remission at the *nāyaka* level increased greatly in this period: there are 20 cases of this[58] and 5 cases of remission by influential local chiefs.[59] While two of the remitting *nāyaka*s are stated to be working for the king, many of them are found working for other (superior) *nāyaka*s who in turn are sometimes known to be the king's servants. In three *nāyaka* cases the remission was made in his *nāyakkattanam* (territory)[60] and in one of the chief's cases it was in his own *sīrmai*.[61] The items remitted by *nāyaka*s and chiefs include a good number of taxes varying from one inscription to another, but the *kāṇikkai* appears with some frequency. Another frequent item of importance is the *paṭṭaḍai-nūlāyam* indicating the *nāyaka*'s effort to develop trade and industry by giving concessions to merchants and artisans. Though the remission of *paṭṭaḍai* taxes by the king is not unknown, it was mostly granted by *nāyaka*s.

There are 8 cases of remission at the *nāṭṭavar* level. Three record the remission of such taxes as *nāṭṭu-kāṇikkai*, *nāṭṭu-viniyōgam*, *pāṭṭiṟai*, *pāḍāvari*, *mallaiyam* of Kachchirāyar, *viniyōgam* of the *jīvitakkārar*, *āḷ-amañji* and *arisikāṇam* by the *nāṭṭavar* and Tandirimār of Karaippōkku-nāḍu.[62] Those taxes are grouped as *nāṭṭai-nōkki-varum* (coming towards *nāḍu*) in one case, which seems to confirm our earlier interpretation of taxes levied at the *nāṭṭavar* level of period III.[63] In one inscription, Iḍaṅgai-nāṭṭavar and Vaṉṉiyar stipulate the rate of *iḍaṅgai-vari* and *jāti-kāṇikkai*, showing the communal aspect of local taxation.[64]

Period V (1501– 1550)

The king continued to grant remissions to many temples and there are 12 such cases, but only 2 cases are found for remissions made by *pradhāni* and *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*.[65] The items remitted in these inscriptions include the *jōḍi* in most cases, sometimes together with *sūlavari* and at others with *arasupēṟu*, but minor taxes such as *varttanai*, *kāvalkūli*, and *ērimīn* are occasionally included. There is only one case of a village grant made by the king (Achyutadēvarāya), who assigned the income (*pon*) of 8 villages to a temple.

Tax remission at the *nāyaka* level is the most conspicuous in this period. There are 35 cases, including one by a local chief who is not a *nāyaka*.[66] Although the taxes remitted are quite various, those on industry and trade such as *paṭṭaḍai-nūlāyam* and also *kāṇikkai*

appear more frequently than the other terms, as in the previous period. *Jōḍi* is mentioned only once in contrast to its frequent appearance in the king's remissions.[67] In one inscription which we have treated at the king's level, a *nāyaka* remitted the *jōḍi* and *sūlavari* of some temple villages, getting the king's permission.[68] *Nāyakkattanam* or the *nāyaka*'s own *sīrmai* appears in 11 of the 35 cases. Most report the remission of village taxes in his *nāyakkattanam* or *sīrmai* in favour of a temple or *maṭhā* and in three the remission was made for the merit of the king.[69] The number of village grants made by *nāyaka*s amounts to 13, in contrast with the decreasing number made by the king.

There are 6 cases at the *nāṭṭavar* level, 3 of which come from the Pudukkottai area.[70] One reveals the *nāṭṭavar*'s incapacity to pay *kaḍamai* to Narasā Nāyaka.[71] In another case, the *nāṭṭavar* and Kachchirāyar decided to bear the *kudirai-kāṇikkai* themselves for the benefit of a temple.[72] In yet another, the *nāṭṭavar* and an official (*kāriyam*) of some important personage remitted *āyam* and *arasu-sammādam* for the merit of the personage.[73] Though *nāṭṭu-viniyōgam* continues to appear among village taxes remitted by *nāyaka*s, there is no case which records remission of it by the *nāṭṭavar* itself. It seems that the *nāṭṭavar* had lost the cohesion and power it previously had as a corporate body of landholders in a locality.

Period VI (1551– 1600)

Only two inscriptions record the remission of taxes by the king in this period. One case records only the amount of revenue (*rēkai-pon*) of five villages granted to a temple by the king, without referring to any tax items.[74] The other case records the remission of *veṭṭi-vari*, *sekkoṭṭu*, etc. by the king with instructions to a local accountant (*talattil karaṇikkam*) that the amount should be deducted from the share of the revenue to be paid to Sūrappa Nāyaka (*sūrappa nāyakkarukku-varum-aramanai-pakudi*).[75] The interpretation of this phrase is not certain, though it seems to concern the relations between the king and *nāyaka*s in tax collection.

There are 16 cases of tax remission or concessions given by *nāyaka*s,[76] but only one reference to the merit given to the king, which shows that the power of the *nāyaka*s was well established and that they became independent to a greater extent in this period, particularly after the defeat of the Vijayanagar king at the battle

of Rakshasi-Tangadi in 1565. Among the large variety of taxes remitted by *nāyaka*s, those on industry and markets are conspicuous. It should also be noted that there appear as taxpayers many communities such as the Kaikkōḷar, Dēvaraḍiyār, Manṟāḍi, Taṭṭār, Cheṭṭi, Sēḍar, Sēṇiyar, Kuṟṟarisi-kāriyaḷ, Eṇṇai-kāriyaḷ, Aṅgāḍi-kāriyaḷ, Valaikkārar, etc. The term *talaikaṭṭu-paṇam*, meaning tax on household, also began to appear at this period.[77] Although there are still cases of all the taxes of a village or temple being remitted, it can be discerned from the other instances that the *nāyaka*s concerned themselves more with the development and control of the economy in their territories by making many kinds of concessions to artisans and merchants.

No reference is found to the *nāṭṭavar*'s activities regarding taxes during this period in any region, which may be taken to be a consequence of the *nāyaka*'s control of their territory without depending on the *nāṭṭavar*'s assistance as of old.

Period VII (1601– 1650)

At the king's level there is only one inscription which reports the king's grant of five villages to a temple, stipulating the *rēkai-pon* (the fixed amount of revenue money) to be paid to the temple.[78]

At the *nāyaka*'s level also the number of cases decreased greatly in this period, but there are still 7 cases, in which a *nāyaka* or his officer (*kāriyam*) remitted taxes or made concessions.[79] Taxes remitted include *talaikaṭṭu-paṇam* or *pala-paṭṭaḍai*, *taṟi-kaḍamai*, *āḷ-amañji*, *uluppai* (present), *ūḻiyam* (service), *ēri-pāsi-vilai* (tax on fishing in a tank) and others.

There is no case at the *nāṭṭavar* level, but in one inscription a variety of people consisting of Cheṭṭi, Kaikkōḷar, Kōmuṭṭi, *pala-paṭṭaḍai*, *ūravar*, Sēnai-kaḍaiyar and Punnanār are said to have donated some money to a temple for the merit of a *nāyaka*.[80]

Conclusion

Through the foregoing analysis two things have been clarified. The first is the development of industry and trade in Pv- and Vp-uchāvaḍis; i.e. different socio-economic conditions existed there from those in other *uchāvaḍi*s. The number of inscriptions yielding revenue terms and the terms referred to in them are evidently greater than in the southern *uchāvaḍi*s (TT and Pd) and also the northernmost *uchāvaḍi* (Cn) of our study area. The occurrence of terms concerning

industry and trade such as *āyam*, *paṭṭaḍai-nūlāyam*, the *pon* group, or the *taṟi* group, is remarkably concentrated in those two *uchāvaḍi*s, though the *āyam* and *pon* groups show some strength in Cn also. This clearly indicates the development of the economy in that area during the Vijayanagar period. This problem has also been studied by Shanmugam separately with special reference to the development of the weaving industry.[81]

This area had remained rather undeveloped during the Chola period, it being dry and less fertile than the Chōḻamaṇḍalam which comprised the very fertile delta area of the Kaveri river. It seems, however, that towards the close of Chola rule, some new socio-economic movement such as the formation of trans-regional organizations of new landholders (*chitramēḻi-periyanāḍu*) often joined by merchants and sometimes by artisans also, emerged in this fringe area, and consequently the economy of the area had begun to develop by the end of the thirteenth century. That is why many terms concerning industry and trade appear in our analysis even from period I in this area.

From the distribution of terms concerning the central government or direct administration by the government, however, we may say that the development of the economy in this area led the invading Vijayanagar commanders and soldiers to squeeze the people of this area during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The revolt against the oppression of the intruders and also of the big landlords has been studied elsewhere (Chapter 8 above). In the sixteenth century we have much evidence of the encouragement given by *nāyaka*s to merchants and artisans to develop industry and trade in their own territories (Chapter 1 above).

In contrast, the lower Kaveri valley which flourished under Chola rule seems to have remained stagnant economically during the period under study. This is suggested by the fewer number of Vijayanagar inscriptions and revenue terms appearing in them, the low frequency of the terms and particularly the extreme infrequency of terms concerning industry and trade in this area. Though there was a certain amount of industrial activity in Chandragiri-uchāvaḍi especially in the Kanchipuram area, the economy of this region does not seem to have been as vigorous as during the Pallava period. The economy in Pd seems to have been still more stagnant than in TT and not to have attracted the attention of the Vijayanagar rulers at all. This is indicated by the rare occurrence of terms of the *āyam* group

and those relating to the central government.[82] The factors which contributed to the development of the economy in some areas and those which inhibited such development in other areas must form a separate study.[83]

The second point which has been clarified is the structural change in the Vijayanagar ruling system which took place at the beginning of the sixteenth century. This point has not yet been sufficiently recognized, but there is abundant evidence of the direct administration which the Vijayanagar rulers carried on through their *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*s (governors) and *adikāri*s (officers) during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The king's or high officials' direct involvement in tax remissions in favour of religious institutions was mostly seen in those two centuries and the imposition of many new taxes by the *adikāri*s of the central government was also concentrated in the earlier periods of our analysis.

In contrast, the *nāyaka* actions of granting concessions to artisans and merchants are more conspicuous in the later centuries. Even though references to *nāyaka*s can be traced back to a still earlier period, our analysis clearly shows that their active involvement in revenue administration started from the latter half of the fifteenth century and was strengthened further during the sixteenth century. Their territory called *nāyakkattanam* also began to have significance only from the end of the fifteenth century (see Chapter 5 above). All this suggests that the direct administration conducted by the king's officers changed to the indirect administration of *nāyaka*s who were assigned certain territories. The decreasing frequency of terms relating to officers of the central government in the later periods also suggests this change (see Chapters 2 and 3 also).[84]

The *nāyaka*s' effort to control production in their territory, employing their own agents, seems to have affected the *nāṭṭavar*'s position, which is shown in our analysis by the decrease of terms relating to the *nāṭṭavar* in the later periods (see also Chapter 2 above).

While these are the two major findings of our study, many more points remain to be clarified in further studies. The analysis made here provides some material for a better understanding of the different aspects of the revenue system. For example, an exhaustive study of the most popular tax items recognized from the frequency tables in the various contexts in which they occur could provide data for a more rational classification of the tax categories than has hitherto

been made and pave the way for a clearer understanding of the system. Another point is the problem of monetization of revenue. The conclusion immediately derived from the analysis is that the Vijayanagar revenue system was more monetized than ever before. It was of course advantageous for the government in many ways, but a great burden to cultivator taxpayers. This aspect has to be studied with relation to contemporary wages, prices and marketing.

Another point, probably the most important for an understanding of the state structure, is the *nāyaka*s' relationship with the king. The problem concerns the mode of sharing the revenue: Fernão Nuniz refers to the income of the eleven big *nāyaka*s and ministers and also the amount they had to pay the king. For example, Salvanayque, who was the lord of Chōḷamaṇḍalam, Nāgapaṭṭiṇam, Tañjāvūr, Bhuvanagiri and others had a revenue of a million and a hundred thousand gold *pardao*s and had to give a third of that revenue to the king.[85] The amount *nāyaka*s paid to the king varies from 3.3 per cent to 50 per cent of their revenue, but it was mostly around 30 per cent.[86] From the fact that the percentage varies, we may infer that the king had a detailed knowledge of the revenue of all the territories in his kingdom. This point can be confirmed by the *Rāyavāchakam*, a chronicle of Krishṇadēvarāya's reign, which mentions that all the details of revenue, even in the villages, were recorded and reported to the king.[87] Our analysis also confirms this point.[88] Though it seems from the above that some taxes were being taken by the king and others by the *nāyaka*, rather than the total revenue being shared, this point should be confirmed in further studies.

We have also to consider the possibility of the spatial division of the kingdom between the king and *nāyaka*s. However, from the large number of *nāyaka*s appearing in inscriptions,[89] the frequent mention of their *nāyakkattanam*s and also the decrease in terms concerning central government officials in the sixteenth century, we are inclined to propose that most of the area of our study was parcelled out to *nāyaka*s as *nāyakkattanam*s during the sixteenth century and after (see also Chapter 5 above), and this hypothesis may be supported by Nuniz' statement that the kingdom of Bisnaga was divided among more than two hundred *nāyaka*s at the time of Achyutadēvarāya.[90] However, further studies are required on this point also.

NOTES

1. N. Karashima and B. Sitaraman, 'Revenue Terms in Chola Inscriptions', *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, no. 5 (Tokyo, 1972), pp.87–117. Also see Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, pp. 69–94.
2. N. Karashima, Y. Subbarayalu and P. Shanmugam, 'Pandyan Revenue Terms in the Inscriptions of Tiruchirapalli District and the Former Pudukkottai State', *Socio-cultural Change in Tiruchirapalli District, Tamilnadu, India*, part I (Pre Modern Period), ed. N. Karashima, Tokyo, 1983, pp. 91–121. Also see Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, pp. 105–28.
3. Although T. V. Mahalingam published two books on Vijayanagar history (*Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar*, Madras, 1940 and *Economic Life in the Vijayanagar Empire*, Madras, 1955; later combined in a revised edition published in two parts under the former's title; Part I, Madras, 1969; Part II, Madras 1975), he simply tried to describe the Tamil society of the time, depending heavily on Venkataramanayya's work and obtaining data mostly from the brief descriptions of inscriptions given in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy*. A. Krishnaswami, who published a book on the Tamil country under Vijayanagar (*The Tamil Country under Vijayanagar*, Annamalainagar, 1964) in turn depended heavily on Mahalingam and in many cases his examination of even epigraphical reports remains insufficient. Burton Stein, who has discussed the 'segmentary' characteristics of Vijayanagar society in his recent works (*Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, New Delhi, 1980; Chapter IV (Vijayanagara) of *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, vol. I, ed. T. Raychaudhuri and I. Habib, Cambridge, 1982; and *Vijayanagara*, The New Cambridge History of India, I-2, Cambridge, 1989) also depended mostly on secondary sources, although his exhaustive reading of them, together with his wider theoretical interest, has made his study of comparatively greater importance than others. Recently R. A. Palat has published three papers on Vijayanagar history: 'Popular Revolts and the State in Medieval South India: A Study of the Vijayanagar Empire (1360–1565)', *BKI*, 142, 1986, pp. 128–44; 'The Vijayanagara Empire', *Early State Dynamics*, ed. Claessen and van de Veldeleds, Leiden, 1987, pp. 170–86; and 'Structures of Class Control in Late Medieval South India: Construction of an Interstate System (*circa* 1300–1600)', paper read at 39th Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Boston, 1987. However, all these papers contain hasty statements based mostly on secondary sources.
4. The term *uchāvaḍi* (sometimes *chāvaḍi*) was used as a synonym of *rājyam*, to denote the major administrative division of the Vijayanagar state. As far as the Tamil area is concerned, the usage *uchāvaḍi* was more popular than *chāvaḍi*. (See Y. Subbarayalu, 'Chavadi, an Administrative Division of the Vijayanagar Empire', *Proceedings of the III Session of the South Indian History Congress*, 1982, pp. 84–7). It seems, however, that this term also denoted smaller revenue units or just an administrative office in the Kannada area (Venkataramanayya, *Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, pp. 155–8). The

rājyam or *uchāvaḍi*, however, seems to have lost its importance as an administrative and revenue unit from the advent of the Tuḷuva dynasty in the early 16th century, though the terms continued to be used as geographical designations.

5. Though Sambuvarāya rule seems to have continued for a few years after 1350, there is no overlapping with Vijayanagar rule so far as the inscriptions are concerned, hence its assignment to the first period only.

6. This number includes 1,064 inscriptions from the Tirumalai-Tirupati temple complex alone, published in six volumes as the *Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions*. This is rather an exceptional case, since more than a thousand inscriptions appear in a single place. Fortunately all these inscriptions have been published with texts and also with English translation. As regards the other areas, only a third of the copied inscriptions have been published with texts. However, the Tirumalai-Tirupati complex inscriptions have only six tax-term yielding inscriptions, as against the Pv and Vp areas where more than a third of the total inscriptions yield tax terms.

7. It must be mentioned, however, that both the defunct terms and the new terms seldom occur, with a few exceptions. In the exceptional cases the term *kōmuṟṟavappēṟu* of period I is same as the *arasu-pēṟu* of period II as far as the meaning is concerned. On the other hand, there is no subsequent parallel to the terms *munniḍum-paṇam*, *vaḷinaḍaikkiḍum-paṇam* or the *ūrkaṇakku* group of period I. Similarly, terms such as *sādam* are actually new terms without parallels in the earlier period.

8. See notes 1 and 2 above.

9. *Āsupodumakkaḷ pērkkaḍamai* is a tax on *āsupodumakkaḷ*, who seem to be public servants, perhaps soldiers. *Arisikāṇam* is presents (*kāṇam*) in the form of rice. *Inavari* is the tax on the Valaṅgai communities. The terms of the *nāṭṭu* group concern the *nāḍu*. *Ponvari* is a money (gold) tax levied on land in addition to that in grain. *Ūr-kaṇakku* is the village accountant. This group seem to have included both the taxes paid by the accountant and those paid for him. *Vari* is one of the most general terms denoting taxes. *Vāsal* means a house and the terms in this group denote the taxes on houses in most cases. *Vāsal-viniyōgam*, however, may be taken as the due for palace (*vāsal*) expenses.

10. *Māvaḍai* and *maravaḍai* are levies on the usufructs of the village common, the former referring to animals and the latter to trees. *Nañjey* and *puñjey* meaning wetland and dryland respectively, seem to have denoted the major land tax in the standard passage recording the village grant in many inscriptions. *Paḻavari* and *puduvari*, literally old tax and new tax, seem to have been added to the above conventional passage to cover all the contingent taxes. *Kāṇikkai* will be explained later.

11. *Āḷamaṟṟi* is a levy of forced labour. *Āyam*, synonymous with *kaḍamai*, is associated with taxes in money in most inscriptions. *Kaḍamai* is one of the most general terms to denote taxes.

12. *Iṟai* is another general term for taxes. *Viniyōgam* will be discussed later.

13. *Iḍaittuṟai* and *sādam* will be discussed later. *Talaiyārikkam* is the tax collected for the police officials.

14. *Kaṭṭāyam* seems to denote compulsory payment. *Kuḷavaḍai* is a due for the usufructs of village tanks. *Nattam*, meaning the site of a village, is usually included in the conventional passage recording village grants. *Jōḍi* is a concessional tax or quit rent paid by temples and other eleemosynary type of villages.

15. *Arasu-pēṟu* is the term for fees collected on behalf of officials. It forms one of the group of subsidiary levies made along with the major tax on land and on industries. An example is: *Paṟṟadaikku.. arasupēṟu vaṭṭam kāṇikkai uṭpaḍa mudalpērkku* (*AR* 1914-59). *Sūlavari* seems to be a synonym for *jōḍi* and they are found mostly used together as a compound word. *Jōḍi* is also used separately as a suffix component of some other tax terms like *adikāri-jōḍi*, where it means a fee. *Nal-erudu* and *nal-pasu* seem to concern cattle raising. *Veṭṭi* is a very common term denoting the levy of forced labour.

16. *Paṭṭaḍai* denotes all professionals other than agriculturists, and includes merchants and herders. *Paṭṭaḍainūlāyam* is the tax on the produce of the *paṭṭaḍai*. *Nūlāyam* is not the tax on (silk) yarn as is usually believed. While *nūl* means both yarn and book, neither meaning seems to be appropriate in the present context, as it was collected on many *paṭṭaḍais* besides the weaving groups (*pala-paṭṭaḍaiyil uṇḍāna paṭṭaḍai nūlāyam*) (*SII*, xxii, 240).

17. In support of this argument it may be mentioned that a number of non-Tamil herders are mentioned in the inscriptions of Pv (*AR* 1912-358, -374, -384; 1941-65). Some of them also have the suffix *nāyaka* as a part of their names.

18. *SII*, xxiii, 151; *IPS*-726.

19. For example, the following phrase shows that *kāṇikkai* was one of the groups of additional levies taken into account while calculating the major money tax on land, i.e. *paṇa-mudal* (*AR* 1914-59: '*paṇa mudalukku karaṇikkar ōlai sammādam paṭṭavaṭṭam kaṅkūli kāṇikkai ... uṭpaḍa*'). That *kāṇikkai* was really a big levy may be inferred from an inscription of 1389 (*SII*, viii, 72) which gives some details of tax rates for some land. While *pon-vari*, the major money tax, was fixed at 17.5 *paṇam*, *kāṇikkai* for the same land was fixed at 16.5 *paṇam*, and *sandivigraham* and *kāttigai-pon* at 2.5 and 1 *paṇam* respectively. See also note 15.

20. Most of these taxes are mentioned in connection with the remission of taxes by the king. *Avasaram* (special officer), *irāyasam* (secretary), *karaṇikkam* (accountant), *daṇṇāyakkar* (commander), etc. were all officers of the central government up to the early 16th century. Only after that are they also found as official designations under the *nāyakas*.

21. In the case of *arasupēṟu*, the large number in period V is due to its frequent occurrence in royal grants, particularly those of Krishṇadēvarāya.

22. For example, *mugampārvai*, *talaiyārikkam* and *kaṇakku* (*kaṇakkar*) cannot be necessarily said to be always concerned with the central government, while the *adikāris* seem to have worked mostly for the central government represented by the *pradhānis* and *mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras*.

23. *AR* 1905-424, -425; 1910-214, -298; 1917-306; 1919-218, -221; 1920-469; 1921-454; 1924-139; 1925-458, -459, -459a, -461, -462; 1934-53, -59, -61, -62; 1939-40,

-157; 1940-111.

24. *AR* 1911-362; 1924-139.

25. An example of all the taxes paid by a village is as follows: *kaḍamai*, *āyam*, *kōmuṟṟuva-pēṟu*, *pon-vari kārttikaikku-iḍum paṇam vāsal-viniyōgam sandivigramam ūrkaṇakkar-āsupodumakkaḷ-pēr-kaḍamai nāṭṭuvari-magama*, *vāsal-oṭṭu*, *mugampārvai*, *ūrkaṇakkar-pērāl-vāsal-viniyōgam*, *sandivigramam-ūrkanakkar-taṭṭār-pērāl-ūsivāsi*, *vaḷinaḍikku-iḍum-paṇam*, *munniḍum-paṇam*, *ina-vari*, *meṟkaṭṭi- vari*, *nal-erudu*, *nal-kiḍa*, *kīṟṟu-vari*, *vilakkaḍaippu*, *ōlai-chambaḍam*, *eḍuttaḷakkum arisikāṇam*, *viruttupaḍi-arisikāṇam*, *kaivilai-kāṇam*, *sūlavari*, *māvaḍai*, *maravaḍai*, *paḷa-vari* and *pala-upādi*.

26. *AR* 1911-362. The taxes are not specified and their total amount exempted by the *nāṭṭavar* is given in *pon*.

27. *AR* 1924-139. The taxes made free by the *nāḍu* (*nāṭṭiṟaiyili*) are specified as *nāṭṭu-viniyōgam*, *nāṭṭu-nūlāyam* and *nāṭṭu-vari*. Although it is stated in the inscription that all taxes are exempted by the king, those mentioned as *nāṭṭiṟaiyili* must have been exempted by the *nāṭṭavar*.

28. *SII*, viii, 163 and 164.

29. *AR* 1938-411 and *SII*, viii, 156.

30. *SII*, xxii, 248 and 249.

31. *AR* 1935-218.

32. *AR* 1911-324; 1918-184; 1919-34*, -228, -297; 1921-203*; 1930-190*; 1938-513; *SII*, iv, 318; viii, 282*; xxii, 194 and 239. Asterisks indicate items concerned with trade and commerce.

33. *AR* 1933-174.

34. *AR* 1909-313.

35. *SII*, xvii, 179.

36. *AR* 1919-294 and 1944-285.

37. *AR* 1912-226; 1913-376; 1919-117; 1921-270, -476*; 1916 497; 1930-152; 1937-113; 1938-402; 1943-131; 1944-278; 1955-313; *SII*, viii, 157; xvii, 562, 736 and xxii, 161*. Asterisks indicate the remission or re-assessment of community tax on Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai groups.

38. *AR* 1921-335; 1922-207*; 1923-214*, -367*; 1926-251, -496; 1934-127; 1935-210; 1938-406, -409, -413; 1944-115, -278 and -280. Asterisks indicate cases of concession granted.

39. *AR* 1941-59.

40. *AR* 1924-134; 1941-74 and -91.

41. *AR* 1941-60.

42. *AR* 1941-66 and -71.

43. *AR* 1941-62, -63 and -68.

44. *AR* 1941-64, -65 and -79.

45. *AR* 1941-58.

46. *AR* 1913-26; 1929-247; *SII*, viii, 276 and *IPS*-784.

47. *AR* 1918-109.

48. *AR* 1913-26 and 1925-429.

49. *AR* 1913-25, -30; 1916-230; 1923-201; 1929-212, -215, -250, -263; 1938-404, -417; 1940-380; 1955-308 and *SII*, viii. 275.
50. In two cases (*AR* 1913-25 and -30) those taxes are grouped as *nāṭṭainōkki-varum-pala-viniyōgam.*
51. *AR* 1919-4*; 1921-461*; 1922-8*; 1925-270, -428*; 1933 35; 1939-243; *SII*, vii, 83; xvii, 220 and xxiv, 346. Asterisks indicate cases of village grants.
52. *AR* 1910-295; 1913-74†; 1918-396†; 1920-54†; 1922-428*, -452*; 1929-414; 1932-160†; 1935-213; 1938-145†, -416; 1940-384†; 1941-94; 1963-666†; *SII*, ii, 23; vi, 4 and xxiv, 339. The asterisk denotes Sāḷuva Tirumalai and the dagger Kōnēridēva.
53. *AR* 1910-295 and 1935-213.
54. They are Sāḷuva Tirumalai indicated by an asterisk and Kōnēridēva indicated by a dagger in note 52.
55. *AR* 1963-666 gives us the following 60 terms: *irēkai, rāyasavattanai, avasara-vattanai, karaṇika-vattanai, pudurāyasa-vattanai, kudirai-kāṇikkai, koḻundu-kāṇikkai, kaṟpūra-kāṇikkai, nāṭṭu-talaiyārikkam, arasu-pēṟu, ōlai-vattinai, paṭṭaḍai, kaṭṭāyam, sekkāyam, tirikai-āyam, karuvi-paṇam, podumakkaḷ-pērāl-varum-kaḍamai, māvaḍai, maravaḍai, kuḷavaḍai, oḻukkumīn-pāṭṭam, kāsu-nel-kaṭṭāyam, āyam, magamai, vaḻichāri, āṟuveṭṭu-kuḷaveṭṭu-samudraveṭṭu, aramanai-nilaiyāl, tennalai-ūḻiyam, kallanai-kāḍuveṭṭu, āḷ amañji, ūḻiyam, eḍuttaḷavu, viruttu-paḍi, kol-ūḻiyam, nal erudu, kōṇigai, virimuṭṭu, satta-kol-ūḻiyam, iḍaitturai, kusavar-ūḻiyam, sādi-vari, tuṇḍa-vari, samayappaḍi, iḍaṅgai-valaṅgai-vari, mūkkutti-vari, sattaram, pōdārikkam, ūrvaḻi-ōlai-vattanai, paḷḷar-paṟayar-vari, iḷa-veḷḷāḷar-vari, kaṇakkar-kāṇikkai, koṭṭu-manai-vari, pattu-kāsu-kuḍukkai, dinasari-kāṇikkai, koṭṭai-āḷ, paḻa-vari* and *pudu-vari.*
56. *AR* 1919-118; 1941-61 and *SII*, xvii, 254.
57. *AR* 1919-118.
58. *AR* 1909-380; 1913-423; 1916-238; 1918-86, -103, -122, -166, -172; 1921-120, -413, -450; 1922-225; 1935-208; 1941 47, -48, -93, -166; *SII*, iv, 45 and xxii, 93.
59. *AR* 1912-487; 1916-235, -252; *SII*, vii, 491 and xxiv, 342.
60. *AR* 1916-238; 1918-166 and 1941-166.
61. *SII*, vii, 491.
62. *AR* 1913-27; 1919-42; 1922-158, -459; 1929-211*, -257*, -261* and 1955-315. Asterisks indicate cases of remission of various taxes.
63. See note 53.
64. *AR* 1955-315.
65. The king's cases are: *AR* 1921-319, -330, -469; 1925 246; 1934-41; 1955-303; *SII*, viii, 352, 597; xxii, 253; xxiii, 355, 493; xxvii, 145; the *pradhāni*'s are: *SII*, vii, 447; and the *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*'s: *SII*, vi, p.272.
66. *AR* 1912-364, -358, -395; 1913-403, -409, -412; 1916-246, -247*; 1918-98, -99, -115, -118; 1921-194; 1924-145; 1927 230; 1933-177; 1935-1, -54, -62, -175; 1938-494; 1940-340; 1942-104; 1944-110, -111, -118; 1947-141; *SII*, iv, 47; v, 1402; vi, 71; xxii, 106, 240; xxiii, 151; xxiv, 366 and *IPS.* 724. The asterisk indicates reference to the chief without *nāyaka* designation.

67. *Jōḍi-vari* appears in *AR* 1944-118.
68. *SII*, xxii, 127.
69. *AR* 1912-358; 1913-403; 1918-98, -118; 1921-194; 1927 230*; 1933-117; 1935-1*, -175; 1938-494; 1944-110*. Asterisks indicate cases of remission for the merit of the king.
70. *AR* 1918-113; 1929-269; *SII*, xxii, 175; *IPS*-733, -737 and -746.
71. *IPS*-733.
72. *SII*, xxii, 175.
73. *AR* 1929-269.
74. *AR* 1919-380.
75. *AR* 1943-98.
76. *AR* 1913-335; 1919-5; 1921-490; 1922-70; 1927-46, -427; 1933-110; 1935-240; 1937-136, -278; 1941-109; 1942 -107, -149; *SII*, ii, 97; viii, 158 and xvii, 581.
77. *AR* 1929-426 and 1942-149.
78. *AR* 1919-379.
79. *AR* 1905-421; 1921-118; 1942-146; 1965-289; *SII*, iv, 52a; v, 858; xxvii, 762.
80. *AR* 1924-113.
81. P. Shanmugam, 'Pattadai and Industries in the Tamil Country under the Vijayanagar Rule', *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, no. 37 (Tokyo), 1989.
82. This area was mostly ruled by a number of small local chiefs termed *arasu* who paid some tribute to the Vijayanagar government now and then. The political role of these chiefs has been studied by Subbarayalu in a paper entitled 'Economic Organization and the Locality Chief under Vijayanagar with Special Reference to the Arasus of the Pudukkottai Area' and read at the Seminar on the Agrarian Order in South India to A.D. 1600, Mangalore, 25-29, February 1989.
83. Though it does not explain the economic development in Pd and Vp during the 13th and 14th centuries, Stein's argument on the activities of the Telugu migrants of the 15th and 16th centuries is interesting in this connection (Stein, *Peasant State and Society*, p. 395).
84. The picture of the *nāyaka*s depicted in Chapter 3 above, namely the almost hereditary rule by members of a *nāyaka* family in the lower Kaveri valley during the 16th century, is quite in accordance with the findings of our analysis. The findings of all these three studies show the *nāyakas*' efforts to develop the economy in their own territory by encouraging artisans and merchants, and also the tendency of *nāyakas* to become independent from the king's control in the 16th century, both of which indicate the growth of local power of *nāyakas*. However, this picture is in contrast to that drawn by Venkataramanayya for the contemporary *nāyaka*s in Rayalasima in Andhra Pradesh, namely the frequent changes or transfers of *nāyaka*s by the king (*The Third Dynasty*, pp.172–4). This difference deserves further study.
85. Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, Indian ed., New Delhi, 1970, pp. 365–70.

86. The details of the revenue received by those *nāyaka*s and the amount paid to the king by them are as given below. Besides these amounts they had to maintain a stipulated number of foot soldiers, horses and elephants.

Nāyaka	(A) *Revenue in* pardaos	(B) *Amount paid to the king*	A / B%
Salva-N	1,100,000	1/3	33.3
Ajaparcatimapa	800,000	300,000	37.5
Gapa-N	600,000	150,000	25.0
Lepapa-N	300,000	80,000	26.6
Narvara	400,000	200,000	50.0
Chinapa-N	300,000	100,000	33.3
Crisnapa-N	20,000	7,000	35.0
Bajappa-N	300,000	10,000	3.3
Mallapa-N	15,000	5,000	33.3
Adapa-N	300,000	40,000	13.3
Bajapa-N	400,000	150,000	37.5

87. Venkataramanayya, *The Third Dynasty*, p. 106.

88. We have already referred to an inscription (*AR* 1943-98: A.D. 1548), which records the king's order to a local accountant (*talattil karaṇikkam*) to the effect that some amount should be deducted from the revenue share to be paid to a *nāyaka*'s office. It is known from another inscription (*AR* 1925-270: A.D. 1455) that the village revenue account was also kept in the *uchāvaḍi* office. Yet another inscription (*AR* 1919-584: A.D. 1533) refers to the king's accountant (*karaṇikkar*) who kept the revenue account (*rēkai*) of a number of villages in the Kanchipuram region. All these suggest the detailed knowledge the central government had of the local revenue in the 15th and 16th centuries.

89. A. Krishnaswami gives the names of 58 *nāyaka*s for the period from A.D. 1371 to 1530, and this survey is referred to by Stein (*Peasant State*, p. 398) and also by R. A. Palat ('Structures of Class Control in Late Medieval South Asia: Construction of an Interstate System, *circa* 1300–1600', p. 29) as 'exhaustive', but as shown in Chapter 5 above, the inscriptions from Chingleput District alone give us the names of 124 individual *nāyaka*s during the Vijayanagar period.

90. Sewell, *Forgotten Empire* (Indian ed.), p. 370.

CHAPTER 12

PAṆḌĀRAVĀḌAI AS TAXABLE LAND

The term *paṇḍāravāḍai* has been interpreted by many scholars to mean the king's or state territory as distinct from *nāyakkattanam*s (*nāyakas*'s territories).

The classification of villages in the Vijayanagar empire into three main groups, i.e. (1) the *bhaṇḍāravāḍa* (*paṇḍāravāḍai*), (2) the *amara* and (3) the *mānya*, by Venkataramanayya[1] has been followed by most scholars. According to Venkataramanayya, *bhaṇḍāravāḍa* villages were crown lands under the direct administration of the king, the *amara* were held by *nāyaka*s in return for their maintaining a certain armed contingent for the king, and *mānya* villages were estates held under the eleemosynary tenure mainly by religious people and institutions. Though Burton Stein doubted the ratio of numerical strength among those three groups suggested by Venkataramanayya, i.e., three-quarters for the *amara* village group, he seems to adopt basically this classification. However, this classification of Venkataramanayya's is an inference based on much later material such as local records, and is highly doubtful. Although I have elsewhere suggested a change in the meaning of the term *paṇḍāravāḍai* (*bhaṇḍāravāḍa*) in the sixteenth century, allowing for interpretation of it as crown land for the earlier centuries,[2] studies I made afterwards make it very clear that *paṇḍāravāḍai* was not crown land but simply taxable land as distinguished from non-taxable land held under eleemosynary tenure.

We shall examine the following inscriptions to verify this point.

	Reference	*Village*	*Taluk*	*District*	*A.D.*
1.	*AR* 1922-13	Tiruvamattur	Viluppuram	SA	1513
2.	*AR* 1938-495	Elavanasur	Tirukkoyilur	SA	1520
3.	*AR* 1927-230	Suriyanarkoil	Kumbhakonam	Tj	1520
4.	*IPS*-735	Tirumayam	Tirumayam	Pd	1522
5.	*AR* 1938-483	Elavanasur	Tirukkoyilur	SA	1538
6.	*SII*, XVI,150	Nasanakota	Dharmavaram	An*	1546
7.	*AR* 1921-469	Tiruvennainallur	Tirukkoyilur	SA	17th Century

* An: Anantapur District.

Although ins. 6 is a Telugu inscription from outside our study area, its contents are quite relevant to our point and we shall examine it first.

Ins.6 By order of his superior, Kōṭappa Nāyaka granted for the merit of the king Sadāsivadēva the remission of taxes (*kulapannu sidhāyamu*) to the barbers (Maṅgalāvaru) living in the *bhaṇḍāravāḍa*, *dēvagrāma* and *agrahāra* included in Nasanakōṭi-sīma, which was his *nāyaṅkara.*

The above makes it very clear that the *bhaṇḍāravāḍa* (*paṇḍāravāḍai*) is not a category of land or village as against or comparable with the *nāyaṅkara* (*nāyakkattanam*). It actually existed within a *nāyaṅkara* and is juxtaposed with the *dēvagrāma* (*dēvadāna*) and *agrahāra* (*brahmadēya*). This point will become clearer from an examination of the six Tamil inscriptions below.

Ins. 1 Mangarasaiyan, an accountant (*karaṇikkam*) of Sāḷuva Ariya Nāyaka made a petition to the king Krishṇadēvarāya and had Siṟṟāsūr, which had been converted some time before from a temple village into the *paṇḍāravāḍai* and paying 200 *kalam*s (to the government), reconverted from *paṇḍāravāḍai* into the temple village (*kōyil-sīrmai*) of the Tiruvamattur temple. For this act, he received from the temple as *prasādam* two houses and 8 *mā* of temple land exempted from taxes.

Ins. 2 At the beginning of the inscription a *nāyaka* family consisting of a father and three sons, all having the title *nāyaka*, is introduced, and a person called Irāmaiyar, who worked for the third son (Sennappa Nāyaka) of the *nāyaka* family, made a charitable gift (*darmam*) for the merit of all four members of the family. The gift was conversion of a *paṇḍāravāḍai* village (Sūriyankuṟichchi) in his estate (*sīrmai*) into the *tirunāmattukkāṇi* (sacred property) of the Iraivanāsūr temple. The village is stated to have been originally owned by the temple as *tirunāmattukkāṇi* and was converted into *paṇḍāravāḍai* afterwards. This charity was made through his petition to Timmappa Nāyaka, the eldest son of the *nāyaka* family, when the latter became lord of this area (probably a larger area including Irāmaiyar's *sīrmai*).

Ins. 3 A *nāyaka* whose name is lost owing to damage to the stone but who is known to be an officer (*vāsal*) of the king Krishṇadēvarāya, exempted a certain village (obliterated) in his *nāyakkattanam* from all taxes. This village is described as having been *paṇḍāravāḍai*, and

many taxes accruing from its *nañjey*, *puñjey*, *nattam*, etc. are enumerated as those to be exempted.

Ins. 4 A charity deed made by Chellappa Vīranarasiṅgarāja Nāyaka. Tirumayam was a *dēvadāna-brahmadēya* village, but some of its land seems to have remained as or been converted into *bhaṇḍāravāḍai*. Vīranarasiṅgarāja Nāyaka made this land also tax-free (*dāna-māniyam*).

Ins. 5 No king is referred to. A Kaliyugarāma Toṇḍaimān made a petition to Vaḷudilampaṭṭu Ānandatāṇḍavapperumāḷ Toṇḍaimān, who was a *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* having many titles, and had Vīramaṅgalam, originally a *tirunāmattukkāṇi* village but afterwards converted into *paṇḍāravāḍai*, reconverted into the original form of temple land as *tirunāmattukkāṇi*.

Ins. 7 The irregular format of this inscription shows that this is a later (seventeenth century) version of the original (sixteenth century) document. This later version must have been made by a person who was not conversant with the format of earlier inscriptions.[3] However, from this inscription, we learn: The king Krishṇadēvarāya converted a plot of *paṇḍāravāḍai* land (55 *mā* consisting of 35 *mā* of *nañjey* and 20 *mā* of *puñjey*) lying in the southern portion of Tiruvennainallūr village into tax-free land (*sarvamāniya tirunāmattukkāṇi*). This charity seems to have been made through a petition to him by a *maṭhā* chief who appears in another inscription of the same temple (*AR* 1921-470).

All these Tamil inscriptions tell us of the conversion or reconversion of *paṇḍāravāḍai* land into temple land.

Ins. 1 refers to temple land as *kōyil-sīrmai* and ins. 2 and 5 as *tirunāmattukkāṇi*. The *paṇḍāravāḍai* land or village is stated to have been taxed in ins. 1, 3, 4 and 7. Even if it is not explicitly stated, we can safely infer from the contents that tax was imposed on the *paṇḍāravāḍai* land, because the purpose of these inscriptions is only to record the charity of tax remission for the land or village for the benefit of a temple. The *paṇḍāravāḍai* is referred to in these inscriptions only in that connection as tax-paying land, in contrast to tax-exempted land such as temple land. This confirms, therefore, the juxtaposition of *bhaṇḍāravāda* with *dēvagrāma* and *agrahāra* in the Telugu inscription (ins. 6) we have examined earlier.

Another significant point we find in the Tamil inscriptions is the existence of *paṇḍāravāḍai* in *nāyaka*'s territory. Ins. 2 tells us that

the village converted from *paṇḍāravāḍai* into *tirunāmattukkāṇi* was in the estate (*sīrmai*) of a *nāyaka*'s agent, which in turn seems to have been included in another *nāyaka*'s territory (*sīrmai*). Ins. 3 clearly shows that the *paṇḍāravādai* village was in the *nāyakkattanam* of a king's officer. These records, therefore, confirm the inclusion of the *bhaṇḍāravāḍa* village in a *nāyaṅkara*, which we have seen in the Telugu inscription.

It is clear therefore that the *paṇḍāravāḍai* did not exist separately from the *nāyakkattanam* and therefore cannot be interpreted as crown land as opposed to territory assigned to *nāyaka*s for the maintenance of a military contingent. The *paṇḍāravāḍai* is the land or village on which taxes were levied by government as against the tax-free land or village held by temples and Brāhmaṇas. In that sense, it may be comparable to the *veḷḷān-vagai* category of the Chola period.

I have suggested (see Chapter 11) that the king had a detailed knowledge of the revenue of all the territories in his kingdom, down to the village level. The appearance of *paṇḍāravāḍai* in *nāyakkattanam*s is of importance therefore. Moreover, in ins. 1 the *nāyaka* made a petition to the king for the conversion of *paṇḍāravāḍai* land into tax-free temple land. In ins. 7 the king himself ordered the conversion. In other cases also, some superior authorities like *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* were involved in the conversion. This indicates that *nāyaka*s were not allowed to deviate from the state policy of revenue collection, while controlling the production in their territories, at least during the sixteenth century.

NOTES

1. Venkataramanayya, *The Third Dynasty*, p.169 ff.
2. Karashima, 'Nāyaka Rule in North and South Arcot Districts in South India during the Sixteenth Century', *Acta Asiatica* 48 (Tokyo), 1985, p.16, note 24. See also Chapter 1, note 23.
3. The year 1555 given in Śaka era does not tally with the cyclic year Visha (Vrisha) also given in this inscription.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

DISTRIBUTION TABLES OF REVENUE TERMS IN INSCRIPTIONS

Table 1

Distribution of inscriptions yielding revenue terms with number and frequency of terms

Period	*Uchāvaḍi*-wise number of inscriptions					Number of terms	Average frequency of terms
	Cn	Pv	Vp	TT	Pd	Total	
I (1301-50)	6	23	3	–	–	32	139	3.42
II (1351-1400)	11	21	15	2	4	53	144	2.19
III (1401-50)	23	36	44	10	7	120	240	3.40
IV (1451-1500)	13	24	33	18	13	101	291	2.89
V (1501-50)	12	45	41	13	19	130	216	3.52
VI (1551-1600)	4	13	8	5	–	30	76	1.47
VII (1601-50)	3	10	–	2	–	15	29	1.20
TOTAL	72	172	144	50	43	481		
Number of terms	166	281	320	178	85			
Average frequency of terms	2.36	3.55	3.95	2.58	2.62			

Table 2

Alphabetical list of revenue terms with chronological and regional distribution

Revenue term	Period							Total	Region				
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII		Cn	Pv	Vp	TT	Pd
Number of inscriptions	32	53	120	101	130	30	15	481	72	172	144	50	43
Ādāyam				1	3	1		5				4	1
Adigai-mādaviratti			3					3	1	2			
Adikāra(i)-varttinai				3				3			3		
Adikāri-kāṇikkai	1		1					2	2				
Adikāri-mugampārvai			2					2	2				
Adikāri-pēṟu				1				1				1	
Adikāri-jōḍi			6	5	1	1		13		3		4	6
Adikāri-viṭṭi			1					1				1	
Adikārikku-kuḍutta-mudal	1							1		1			
Āḍi-(kāttigai)-kāṭchi				1	1			2			2		
Āḍi-kārttigai-pachchai			2					2			2		
Āḍi-kārttigai-sutantiram				1				1					1
Adiya-mādam (Adiga-mādam)		1	1					2	1	1			
Āḷ-amañji[1]	1	3	7	9	6	3	3	32	3	8	16	3	2
Aḷḷāyam						1		1		1			
Aḷḷu						1		2		2			
Āḷ-māgāṇi-jīvitam			1	1	1			3			3		
Āḷ-tēvai	1				1			2		1			1
Aḷugalsarakku	1							1		1			
Aḷ-vari					2			2					2
Amañji						1		1				1	
Anaittāyam	1		1		1			3		1	1		1
Aṅgāḍikkāriyaḷ						1		1		1			
Aṅgāḍip-pāṭṭam	1							1		1			
Aṅgasālaigaḷ-sambaḍam			2					2	2				

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Aṅgasālaigaḷ-jōḍi			1					1				1	
Aṅgasālaigaḷ-vitti			1					1				1	
Antarāyam	1	1		1				3			1		2
Anuppu						2		2	1	1			
Anutara-varttinai					1			1			1		
Anuvarttinai				2				2			2		
Aparāda-kāṇikkai		1						1		1			
Araimanai-jōḍi						1		1				1	
Aramanai-nilaiyāḷ				2				2				2	
Arasa-viśēsham				1				1				1	
Arasu					1			1			1		
Arasu-kuṟṟam				1				1				1	
Arasu-nibatti				1				1				1	
Arasu-pēṟu[2]	2	7	7	9				25			18	7	
Arasu-sammādam			1	1	1			3			3		
Arasu-sukantiram		1	1					2					2
Arisi-kāṇam[3]	14	7	9	4				34	11	12	11		
Āṟṟukkal	1			1				2	1		1		
Āṟuveṭṭu-kuḷaveṭṭu-āḷ				2				2				2	
Ashtamāṅgisham-nīndal				2				2			1	1	
Āsu-podumakkaḷ			1					1				1	
Āsu-podumakkaḷ-pērāl-ponvari	1							1		1			
Āsu-podumakkaḷ-pērk-kaḍamai	12	3	5	2	1			23	2	10	8	3	
Āsu-podumakkaḷ-pērkku-paṇam		1						1			1		
Āsu-podumakkaḷ-pēṟu					1			1				1	
Āsuvak-kaḍamai				1	3			4		4			
Āsuvap-poṉvari	1							1	1				
Āsuvadigaḷum-makkaḷ-pēril-kāṇikkai				1				1	1				
Āṭṭaichcham-mādam		2	4					6	2	4			
Āṭṭaik-kāṇikkai			4					4			4		
Āṭṭu-vilai (Āḍu-ney-vilai)				2	1			3			3		
Avasara-varttanai			3	9	2			14			7	7	
Āyam	14	7	19	18	3	4		65	16	27	18	4	
Baktādāyam			6	1				7		2	3	2	

Revenue term	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII		Cn	Pv	Vp	TT	Pd
Chēri-vari (Chēri-āyam)			1		3				4		4		
Danap-paṇam	2	2	1						5	2	3		
Dandam			1						1				1
Dāniya-mudal				1					1				1
Dāniya-vargam			1	2	6	1			10	2	7	1	
Dāniyavargat-tīrvai					1				1		1		
Daṇṇāyakkar-magamai		2	3						5		3	2	
Dasavandam				1					1			1	
Dēvar-kaḍamai		1							1			1	
Dinasari-kāṇikkai				2					2				2
Dīvaḷigai-tiraichchīlai					4				4	1		3	
Durgak-kāṇikkai							1		1		1		
Durgak-kāsu			1						1				1
Eḍuppana							1		1		1		
Eḍuttaḷakkum-arisikāṇam		5							5	1	4		
Eḍuttaḷavu		4	3	2	3	1			13		7	4	2
Eḷkaṭṭāyam					1	3			4		4		
Eḷuttuch-chammādam				1					4		1		
Eṇṇai (Eṇṇey)			1		1				2		1	1	
Eṇṇaikkāriyaḷ							1		1		1		
Eṇṇai-vilai						1			1			1	
Ēr					1		1		2		1	1	
Ērchōṟu			2	2	3	7	3	1	18	2	6	3	7
Ēri-kaḍamai		1							1	1			
Ērikuḷiveṭṭa			1						1		1		
Ērimīn			3	5	1	4			13	1	3	8	1
Ērimīn-kāsu		1							1		1		
Ērimīn-pāṭṭam		2	1						3	1	1	1	
Ērimīn-vilai				3	2	2			7		1	6	
Ērimīn-viṟ-paṇam			1	1		1			3	1	1	1	
Ērinīr-āyam			1						1			1	
Ēripāsi								1	1		1		
Ēripāsi-vilai				1				1	2		2		
Ēri-kaḍamai[4]					1	6	7					6	1
Ēṟṟuvarisai-tuṇḍam					1				1			1	
Ērt-tēvai						1			1				1
Erudu			1						1		1		
Ēṟusāttu		1							1		1		
Ēruttuch-chammādam			1		2	2			5		4	1	

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Iḍaittuṟai		3	5	8	11	1		28	1	10	11	5	1
Iḍai-vari				1	1			2				1	1
Iḍaiyīṭṭu-vattanai			1					1			1		
Iḍaṅgai-valaṅgai-vari				1				1				1	
Iḍaṅgai-vari		1	6	3				10	5		4	1	
Ilai-āyam				1				1				1	
Ilakkai			2				2	1	1				
Ilakkam				1	2			3			1		2
Ilāñjinaip-pēṟu				1				1	1				
Ilāñjinai-vari	1							1		1			
Iḷavarisait-tuṇḍam				1				1				1	
Iḷaveḷḷāḷar-vari				2				2				2	
Iṉavārāchi	1							1		1			
Iṉavari	9	2	4	7				22	1	7	11	3	
Iṉavarusi					1			1					1
Iṟai		5	2	6	8	3	1	25	3	7	3	2	10
Iṟai-ilābam				3				3				3	
Iṟai-muṟaimai			2		1			3			1		2
Iṟaichchōṟu					1			1			1		
Iṟai-taram				3	1			4			1	1	2
Iṟai-vari						1		2		2			
Iṟaiyili-kāṇikkai				1				1				1	
Iraṅgusāttu	1							1		1			
Irāsakaram			2	3	2	1		8		1	3		4
Irāsa-ūḻiyam						1		1		1			
Iraṭṭi-adigaimadam		1						1		1			
Irāyasa-vattanai			3	6	2			11			7	4	
Irēkai (Rēkai)		1	6	7	10	4	1	29	4	7	13	5	
Iruppukkaṭṭin-kuvaṭṭu		1						1		1			
Jīvitakkārikaikku-iḍum-paṇam	1							1		1			
Jōḍi (Sōḍi)			14	11	18			43	5	12	22	4	
Kaḍaik-kūli (kaḍai-āyam)		2						2			2		
Kaḍaikkūṭṭān-mugampārvai			2					2	2				
Kaḍaikkūṭṭān-jōḍi			2				1	3	2			1	
Kaḍaikkūṭṭu-ilakkai					1			1				1	
Kaḍamai	15	12	19	13	12	1		72	12	23	24	1	12
Kaḍanvagaiyin-vilai				1				1			1		

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Kāḍu-kāval			1	1				2			2		
Kāḍu-kāval-varttinai				1				1		1			
Kāḍu-veṭṭi-āḷ				1				1				1	
Kāḍuveṭṭu-amañji			1					1				1	
Kaikkōḷar-pērk-kaḍamai	1							1		1			
Kaippaṟṟukku-kuḍutta-mudal	1							1		1			
Kaivilai				1				1			1		
Kaivilai-dāniyam				1				1			1		
Kaivilaik-kāṇam	5	2						7	1	5	1		
Kaiyēṟpu			3					3	1	2			
Kalattuṭṭi				1				1			1		
Kaḷippuvaṭṭam			2					2	2				
Kallaṇai				1	1			2			1	1	
Kallaṇai-kāḍuveṭṭu 5				5				5				5	
Kallāyam			4	3	2			9			7	2	
Kalliyāṇam-paṇam				1				1	1				
Kaṇakkar-kāṇikkai				2				2				2	
Kaṇakkar-jōḍi			1	1				2			1	1	
Kaṇakk-ilakkai					1			1					1
Kaṇakku-kāṇikkai			1					1			1		
Kaṇakku-pēṟu					1			1			1		
Kāṇam		1						1			1		
Kaṇḍēṟṟam				1				1				1	
Kaṇḍu-kāṇikkai			1					1			1		
Kāṇikkai	2	8	25	24	22	4	1	86	9	24	39	5	9
Kāṇikkaivari		1						1			1		
Kāṇiyāṭchip-pēṟu			2	1				3			3		
Kaṇkāṇi-kaṇakk-ilakkai				1				1					1
Kaṇ-kūli			1	3				4		1	3		
Kaṇ-vaṭṭa-vari	1							1		1			
Karanikkarōlaich-chammādam			1					1			1		
Karaṇikkar-jōḍi			6	6	2			14			11	3	
Karaṇikkar-suvantiram					1			1		1			
Karaṇikkar-varttanai				4	1			5	1		1	3	
Kāriya-ārāṭchi				1				1	1				
Kāriyappēr-jōḍi				1				1			1		
Kaṟpūrak-kāṇikkai		2	6					8			5	3	
Karu-āyam		1						1			1		
Karuvi-āyam		3	1	1				5			3	2	

Revenue term	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII		Cn	Pv	Vp	TT	Pd
Karuvi-paṇam			1	2	2				5		4	1	
Kāsāya-kaḍamai	1								1	1			
Kāsāya-vargam	2	1	1		1				5	4	1		
Kāsāyakuḍi-pērkkaḍamai	1								1	1			
Kāsāyam		1	1						2	1	1		
Kāsu-kaḍamai	1		1		2				4	1	1		2
Kāsu-neṟ-kaṭṭāyam				1					1			1	
Kāsu-pāḍu			1	1					2		1	1	
Kaṭṭāyam			5	10	8	3	1		27	7	12	7	1
Kaṭṭāyanel				1					1			1	
Kāttigaik-kāṇikkai	6		1	1					8		7		1
Kāttigaikku-iḍum-paṇam	6								6	1	5		
Kāttigaimāda-iraṭṭi			1						1		1		
Kaṭṭigai-maganmai		1							1				1
Kaṭṭigai-mērval		1	1						2	1	1		
Kāttigaip-pachchai	7	1			1				9	3	5	1	
Kāttigaip-poṉ		1							1		1		
Kaṭṭigai-vattanai			2	1					3			3	
Kāvalkāṟam-ūḻiyam				1					1			1	
Kāvalkāṟarpēril-koḻḻum-poṉ-vari			1						1			1	
Kāval-kūli					1				1		1		
Kāval-suvantiram					1				1		1		
Kavandigai			4						4			4	
Kāvēri-kallaṇai-kāḍuveṭṭu					1				1				1
Kiḍā		1				1			2	2			
Kirāma-viniyōgam		1							1		1		
Kīṟṟu			4						4		3	1	
Kīṟṟu-vari	4		1						5	4	1		
Kōḍai-āḷ				1					1			1	
Kōḻimuṭṭai					1				1		1		
Koḷ-kaṭṭāyam				1	2				3	3			
Kollan-ūḻiyam				1					1		1		
Kol-ūḻiyam				1					1			1	
Koḻḻuppayaṟu (Koḻḻaḷavu)			1	3					4			4	
Koḻundu-kāṇikkai				3					3				3
Kolvinaip-poṉ								1	1				1
Kōmuṟṟavap-pēṟu	14								14	3	10	1	
Kōṇigai		1	6	6	8				21		5	13	3
Koṟṟilakkai		1	1	6	2	1			11	1		4	6
Kōṭṭai-āḷ					2				2				2

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Kottai-Kāṇikkai				1				1			1		
Kottil-paṇam				1				1			1		
Kottuk-kīrru			1					1			1		
Kōṭṭumaṇai-vari				1				1				1	
Kōvai-paṇam		1						1		1			
Kōvai-varttinai				2				2			2		
Kōyilaṅgāḍigaḷ-pērk-kaḍamai	1							1		1			
Kōyil-suvantiram			1	2				3					3
Kuḍimāḍu-kāṇikkai					2			2			2		
Kuḍimai			3		1			4			1	1	2
Kuḍip-paṇam	1			1		1		3		2	1		
Kuḍirai-kāṇikkai			2	7	2			11			8	3	
Kuḍirai-vilāḍam						1		1		1			
Kuḍivāram					1			1	1				
Kulach-chuvantiram				1				1					1
Kuḷamīn-pāṭṭam				1				1					1
Kuḷapparappu				1				1	1				
Kuḷavaḍai			8	10	11	1		30		1	16	11	2
Kūli-āḷ						1		1		1			
Kulip-paṇam[6]	2	1		1				4	1	2	1		
Kurram-paṇam			1					1					1
Kurramañji					1			1	1				
Kūrrarisi				1	2			3					3
Kūrrarisi-kāriyaḷ						1		1		1			
Kurrat-teṇḍam		1	2					3			3		
Kūrr-ilakkai					1			1				1	
Kūrru-vari	1							1			1		
Kurupattaṟai					1			1			1		
Kusatturai				1				1				1	
Kusavar-ūliyam				2				2			1	1	
Kuttagaip-poṉ			1					1		1			
Mādap-pēru					1			1			1		
Mādārikkam				2	7	1		10	2	6	2		
Mādavaḷi-muri			1					1					1
Māda-iraṭṭi	1	1	1					3		2	1		
Maḍil-amañji					1			1		1			
Maḍuvaḍai		1	2	5				8			2	6	
Magamai (Maganmai)	2		7	4	1	2	1	17	3	4	5	5	
Mahānavami-muri[7]				1	2			3			3		
Mākkala-suvantiram			1					1					1
Mākkalam			1	2				3			1		2
Malai-amañji					1			1		1			
Malai-kāval						1		1		1			
Malai-kāval-āyam						1		1		1			
Mallayam			1	5	1			7			7		

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Maṉai-kaḍamai					1			1				1	
Maṉai-kūli		2						2	1	1			
Maṉai-ney-kāsu			1					1	1				
Mandai-vari				1	1			2			2		
Maṉṟaḍigaḷ-pērilkoḷḷum-vari		1						1		1			
Maṉṟaḍiyaḷ-talaikkaṭṭu							1	1		1			
Marakkāl-vāsi				3				3			3		
Maravaḍai	1	4	11	10	30	2	1	59	3	16	22	11	7
Māvaḍai	2	5	14	12	29	3	1	66	5	18	23	13	7
Mēlvāram			1		1			2	1		1		
Mārkkaṭṭi-vari	8							8	1	6	1		
Mērvai	1			1				2	2				
Miḷagu		1						1		1			
Mīṉ-āyam				1				1				1	
Miṉaḍai				1				1			1		
Mīṉvilai		1						1			1		
Mīṉvilai-paṇam			1					1		1			
Mudal	1	1	3	3	1			9		2	4	1	2
Mudaṟ-pārvai					1			1			1		
Mugampārvai	9		4	3	5			21	7	10	4		
Mūkkutti-vari				1				1				1	
Muḷaikūli			1					1			1		
Mūlavīsam					1	1		2	2				
Muṇṇiḍum-paṇam	6							6	1	5			
Mūṉṟu-kāṇikkai	1							1	1				
Muttup-pārvai		1						1		1			
Naḍappu-paṇam			1					1	1				
Nal-āḍu			1	3	1			5			5		
Nal-erudu	9	4	17	11	15			56	11	14	26	4	1
Nal-erudu-kāṇikkai				1				1				1	
Nal-erumai			5	4	4			13	3	3	7		
Nal-kiḍā	5	4	5	3	4			21	5	8	7	1	
Nal-pasu	1	1	7	10	14			33	6	9	16	2	
Nañjey	5	6	18	12	25	3		69	6	14	26	14	9
Nañjey-kaḍamai	3			2	4			9		7	2		
Nañjey-kāṇikkai				1				1			1		
Nañjey-nilap-puñjey-kaḍamai					1			1		1			
Naṉ-payir			1					1			1		
Nattam			9	6	12	1		28	2	1	10	12	3
Nattamaṉai			1					1			1		
Nattamarattoṭṭi		1						1				1	
Nattapparappu				1				1	1				
Natta-rēkai					1			1					1
Nāṭṭār-kāṇikkai					1			1			1		

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Natta-vari	1	1	7	1	1			11	3	8		
Nāṭṭāyam	1				1			2	2			
Nāṭṭu-kāṇikkai			6	11	1			18		12	6	
Nāṭṭu-mariyādi		2						2	1			1
Nāṭṭu-nūlāyam	2							2	2			
Nāṭṭu-paḷavari[8]				1	3			4		4		
Nāṭṭu-puduvari[9]				3				3		3		
Nāṭṭu-talaiyārikkam				3	1			4	1		3	
Nāṭṭu-vari	2							2	2			
Nāṭṭu-vari-maganmai	7							7	1	5	1	
Nāṭṭu-viniyōgam[10]	1	2	15	4	3			25	1	24		
Nayinār-kāṇikkai			1					1		1		
Nel			1	1				2		1	1	
Nel-kaḍamai					1			1		1		
Nel-mudal			3	2	9	2		16	1	4	6	2	3
Nel-vargam	1		1	2	1			5	2	3			
Nel-vilai			1					1			1		
Nellāyam	13	1						14	3	10	1		
Nelppāḍu			1					1			1		
Neṭṭamañji					1			1	1				
Ney		1		1				2		2			
Neyeṇṇai				1				1			1		
Nimandam		1						1		1			
Niṉṟiṟai					1			1			1		
Nīrāṇikkam				1		1		2				2	
Nīr-kūli					5		2	7	2	5			
Nirupa-vattanai			1					1			1		
Norolai-kāṇikkai(?)			1					1			1		
Nōṭṭam-paṇam					1			1		1			
Nōṭṭa-vattiṉai				2				2			2		
Nūlāyam	1	4	6	1				12	1	4	7		
Ōḍam				1				1			1		
Ōlai-sambaḍam	4							4		3	1		
Ōlaieḻuttu-varttanai				4	2			6			4	2	
Ōlai-vattanai				2				2				2	
Ōlai-viniyōgam				1				1			1		
Oḻukkumīn-pāṭṭam				2	1			3				3	
Oḻukkunīr-pāṭṭam			1	4	1	1		7			5	2	
Oṭṭiyam				1								1	
Pachchai			1	1				2					2
Pachchai-paṇam			2					2			2		
Pachchaivaḍam		1	2					3		1	2		
Pāḍaga-vari			1					1			1		
Pāḍā-vari			5	3				8			8		

Revenue term	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII		Cn	Pv	Vp	TT	Pd
Pāḍikāval			2	5	1			8			2	2	4
Pāḍikāval-suvantiram		1			2			3					3
Paḍugai			1	1	1			3			1	2	
Paḍugai-tiḍar					2	1		3				3	
Pākku		1						1		1			
Pākku-kaṭṭāyam				1				1			1		
Paladāniya-vargam					1			1		1			
Palakarai					1			1		1			
Palakuḍimakkaḷ-pēr-kaḍamai	1							1		1			
Palanam-varttinai				1				1			1		
Paḷa-vari	2	2	10	13	11	2		40	4	14	17	5	
Paḷḷar-vari (Paḷḷar-ūḻiyam)				2				2				2	
Paṇam			1			1		2		1	1		
Paṇa-mudal			1					1			1		
Paṇa-vargam	1							1	1				
Paṇa-vari				1				1				1	
Pañjupīli		1		1				2	1				1
Paṇḍam						1		1		1			
Paṇḍāravāti-pēṟu				1				1			1		
Pāndi-vari	1							1	1				
Paṉṟi-vilai[11]			1	3				4			4		
Paṟaiyar-pērpaṇam			1					1			1		
Paṟaiyar-vari				5				5			3	2	
Paritti-vari					1			1				1	
Paṟṟadai				2	1			3				2	1
Pāsip-pāṭṭam			3	1	2			6	2				4
Paṭṭaḍai					1	1	1	3		2	1		
Paṭṭaḍai-āyam	3	2						5	1	4			
Paṭṭaḍai-nūlāyam		3	7	4	9	2		25	4	17	4		
Paṭṭadai-salattaram				2	1			3			3		
Paṭṭadai-sirṟāyam			1					1			1		
Paṭṭadai-taṉiyāḷ				1				1			1		
Paṭṭaḍaigaḷilābam					1			1			1		
Pattadai-nibatti			1					1				1	
Paṭṭi-kāṇikkai			1					1			1		
Pāṭṭam			1					1			1		
Paṭṭamēni			1					1			1		
Paṭṭaṇap-pagudi	2		4					6		1	5		
Paṭṭapādi				1				1			1		
Paṭṭavaṭṭam			1					1			1		
Paṭṭirai			6	3				9			9		
Patti-teṇḍam		1	1					2			2		
Paṭṭōlaip-paṇam	1							1	1				

Revenue term	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII		Cn	Pv	Vp	TT	Pd
Pattukkāsu-kuḍikkai				1				1				1	
Pattukkiraṇḍu-kāṇikkai				1				1				1	
Pattukkoru-jōḍi			1	1				2				2	
Pattukkoru-paṇavaṭṭam					1			1				1	
Pāvāḍaip-paṇam		1						1				1	
Pērāya-sammādam		2	4					6	2	4			
Pērāyam				1		1		2	1			1	
Pērk-kaḍamai	3	3	2	5	14	1		28	1	9	13	4	1
Pēr-sammādam				1				1				1	
Perumpāḍikāval					1			1		1			
Peruvari			1					1				1	
Piḍāri-vari					1			1				1	
Pillai-vari			1					1					1
Pillaiyārnōṉbu	1							1		1			
Piradāni-jōḍi				2				2				2	
Pirasāda-kaḍamai				1				1		1			
Pirasāda-kāṇikkai					1			1			1		
Piṟavagai-ādāyam					1			1				1	
Piṟa-vari				1	1		1	3		1	2		
Pōdārikkam				5				5			2	3	
Podumakkaḷpērāl-varum-kaḍamai				1				1				1	
Poṉ				1	2			3					3
Poṉ-mudal			3	3	10	2		18	1	4	7	2	4
Poṉ-vari	15	8	9	5	3			40	13	16	11		
Poṉ-vargam			2	2	7	1		12	3	8	1		
Poṟ-pāḍu			1					1			1		
Puḍavaip-pāḍu			1					1			1		
Puḍavaip-pārvai		1						1		1			
Pudiyidu	4							4	2	2			
Pudurāyasa-vattanai				3				3				3	
Pudu-vari	5	2	10	15	11	2		45	4	18	17	6	
Puḻugu-kaḍamai	1							1		1			
Puḻugu-pāḍu			1					1			1		
Puḷ-vari			1	5	1	1	1	9		2	3	4	
Puñjey	6	6	18	12	27	3		72	7	14	28	14	9
Puñjey-kaḍamai	3		1	2	5			11		7	4		
Puṉpayir			4	1	1			6		1	3	2	
Puṟakkalaṉai	2	2						4	3	1			
Puṟakkalaṉaik-kaḍamai	1							1		1			
Puṟakkalaṉai-vāsal	2							2		2			

Revenue term	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII		Cn	Pv	Vp	TT	Pd
Puṟakkalaṉaiyār-pēr-kaḍamai		1						1	1				
Puṟamudal		1						1			1		
Puṟankāval			1					1			1		
Puṟavaḍai	1	1		1	1			4		2	2		
Puṟa-vari		1	1	7	6			15			10	4	1
Puravu				2	3			5					5
Pūsaip-pagudi	1							1	1				
Puṭṭamudu	1							1		1			
Puṭṭāṭchi-āḍumāḍu				1				1		1			
Puṭṭāṭchi-ney						1		1		1			
Rakshābōgam		1						1		1			
Rāyasa-vattanai				2				2				2	
Rēkai / Rēkha See *irēkai*													
Sādak-kaḍamai				3	2			5		3	2		
Sādam		1	12	7	1			21	2	19			
Sādik-kaḍamai		1	1					2	1	1			
Sādik-kāṇikkai				1				1	1				
Sādi-vari				8				8			3	5	
Sālai-varttinai						1		1		1			
Salakkaram 12					1			1			1		
Salakkara-vagai 12			1					1			1		
Salattaram				3				3				3	
Samaiyam						1		1			1		
Samaiyappaḍi			2	8	3			13		1	8	3	
Samaiyappaḍi-kāṇikkai			1					1			1		
Sammādam			1	6	2			10	1	2	7		
Sammāttu					1			1			1		
Sambaḍam	1		1	1				3	1	1	1		
Sandai					1			1		1			
Sandai-āyam					1			1		1			
Sandai-magamai				1				1	1				
Sandai-mudal		1						1	1				
Sandai-salattaram					1			1			1		
Sandivikkirakam (Sanduvigraham)	8	1						9	1	7	1		
Sanduvikkirakap-pēr-kaḍamai	1							1		1			
Sanduvikkirakap-pēṟu		1		1				2	1				1
Sanduvikkirakap-poṉ	4							4		4			
Sankēda-vari		1						1				1	
Sāraḍai		1	2	3	4			10			7	2	1
Sarakku-vari	2							2		2			

Revenue term	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII		Cn	Pv	Vp	TT	Pd
Sarkkaram					1			1					1
Sattakkoll-ūliyam				1				1				1	
Sattara-vagai				1				1				1	
Sattiram				1				1				1	
Sāttu-kaḍamai					1			1		1			
Sēdāri			1					1			1		
Sekkāyam		1	1	5	3			10	1		7	2	
Sekkiṟai			6	1				7	1		5		1
Sekkoṭṭu				2	13	1		16		9	6	1	
Sekku			2					2		1	1		
Sekku-kaḍamai	5	6	5		1			17		2	9	6	
Sekku-mēl-āyam				1				1			1		
Sekkuttuṟai				2				2				2	
Sēṉaikkadaiyār-talaikkaṭṭu							1	1		1			
Sēnaipovar-jōḍi			1					1				1	
Sēnaipovar-viṭṭi			1					1				1	
Sēnaiaṅgāḍi-pērk-kaḍamai	1							1		1			
Seṭṭigaḷ-pērk-kaḍamai	1							1		1			
Seṭṭi-iṟai			2	1				3			3		
Seyttalaittiḍar			1	1	8			10		1	4	4	1
Siddāyam			2		1			3		1		2	
Sillarai-virāḍam						1		1		1			
Silliṟai							1	1		1			
Sōḍi See *Jōḍi*													
Sūḍusumai							1	1	1				
Sūla-vari	12	7	11	10	7			47	8	21	10	7	1
Sūlavari-irēkai				4				4			2	2	
Sūlavari-poṉ			1					1			1		
Suṅgam		1			1		1	3	1			2	
Suṅgam-ubhaiyamārgam		3	4	2				9	1	1	4	3	
Suvantiram		1	5	2	3		1	12	1	1	1	1	8
Suvarṇādāyam			5	1				6		1	3	2	
Tachchu		1						1		1			
Tagaṟṟu-vari	1							1	1				
Tagukkōṟvai-poṉ			1					1		1			
Taichchaṉ-ūliyam				1				1			1		
Talaikkaṭṭup-paṇam					2	1		3		3			
Talaiyārikkam	3	4	8	12	1			28	3	9	14	2	
Talaiyāri-mērvai	2							2	1	1			
Talaiyāri-sammādam				1				1			1		
Talaiyāri-vari			1					1			1		
Taṇḍal-togai		1						1					1
Taṇḍu-kāṇikkai			1					1			1		

Revenue term	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII		Cn	Pv	Vp	TT	Pd
Tāppaḍi		1						1		1			
Taragu	1	1				1		3	1	1	1		
Tara-paṇam			1					1			1		
Tarappaḍi-poṉ	1							1		1			
Taṟi			1	1				2		2			
Taṟik-kaḍamai	6	6	13	7	19	2	1	54	8	19	21	5	1
Taṟi-paṇam						2	3	5		4	1		
Tari-irai		2	3	2				7	1		5		1
Taruvadāna-achchu				1				1	1				
Taṭṭārap-pāṭṭam	1	2		1				4	1	1	1		1
Taṭṭārpērāl-ūsivāsi	7							7	1	5	1		
Taṭṭoli	1			1				2	1	1			
Teṉṉalai-ūṟiyam				2				2				2	
Teṉṉamarattu-vari					1			1			1		
Tēvikkiḍum-paṇam	2							2		1	1		
Tēvai-pagudi	1							1		1			
Tiṟappu		1						1		1			
Tirigai-āyam			5	4	3			12			9	3	
Tirumugamkēḷvi	1							1	1				
Tiruppudiyadu	1	2	1					4	3	1			
Tiruttēr-ūṟiyam						1		1	1				
Tiruvāsal-mērvai	1							1	1				
Tiruvāsal-viniyōgam	6	1						7	1	6			
Tiruvāsalainōkki-varum-jōḍi			1					1	1				
Tirvai					1	2		3		3			
Tōloṭṭu					3			3			3		
Tōṭṭapparṟu	2	1						3	2	1			
Tōṭṭappirakāsam				1				1				1	
Tōṭṭappuṟavāyam		1						1			1		
Tuṇḍa-vari[13]				5				5			2	3	
Ubhaiyamārga-talai-yārikkam						1		1			1		
Uchāvadi-kānikkai				1				1			1		
Uḍaṉvāram				2				2					2
Udirit-tīrvai					1.			1			1		
Uḍukaṟai				1	4			5		5			
Ulakala-upādi				1				1		1			
Ula-mērvai		1						1	1				
Ulavaḍai						1		1		1			
Ūṟiyam		1	4	4	4		1	14	1	1	5	3	4
Ūṟṟāyam	3	1		1		1		6	2	2	2		
Ūṟugal-vari		1						1	1				

Revenue term	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII		Cn	Pv	Vp	TT	Pd
Uluppai		1		3	3		1	8		2	3	1	2
Upādi	16	20	27	22	17	1		103	13	41	39	7	3
Ūramañji			1					1			1		
Ūrkkaṇakkarpērāl-poṉ-vari	1							1	1				
Ūrkkanakkarpērāl-ūsivāsi	8							8	2	5	1		
Ūrkkanakkarpērāl-vāsal-viniyōgam	4							4	1	3			
Ūrkkaṇakkar-pērkkaḍamai	9							9	1	7	1		
Ūr-kaṇkāṇikkai	1							1		1			
Ūr-māgāṇi-jīvitam				1				1			1		
Ūr-talaiyārikkam		1						1				1	
Ūrvaḻiōṇa-varttinai		1						1				1	
Ūr-vechcham					1			1		1			
Ūr-viniyōgam	1		1	1	4			7	3	3	1		
Ūsivāsi		1				1		2		1	1		
Uvachcha-vari		1	1					2	1	1			
Vāḍā-oṭṭu				1	1			2		2			
Vāḍā-oṭṭu-rēkai					1			1		1			
Valaṅgai-vari				1				1				1	
Vaḻichchāri				2	3			5			3	2	
Vaḻinaḍai-kāṇikkai	2							2		2			
Vaḻinadaikkiḍum-paṇam	6							6	1	4	1		
Vāl-vari			2	1	2			5		2	3		
Vāṇigar-pērk-kaḍamai	1	1						2		1	1		
Vaṇṇān-pērāl-iṉavari	2							2		2			
Vaṇṇār-vari			1					1		1			
Vaṉṉiya-vari			2	2				4		1	3		
Vāṉpayir			3	1	2			6	1	1	2	2	
Vari	15	7	7	7	3			39	4	17	15	3	
Vari-sōṟu					1			1			1		
Varttinai				2	3			5	3	1	1		
Vāsal		1						1		1			
Vāsal-kaḍamai					3			3		3			
Vāsal-kāṇam	1							1		1			
Vāsal-kuḻippaṇam			2					2		2			
Vāsal-maṉai			1	3	1			5			1	3	1
Vāsal-maṉi-kāsāyam				4				4			4		
Vāsal-oṭṭu	9	1	1					11	3	5	1	2	
Vāsal-paṇam [14]	3	6	13	2	2			26	8	7	10	1	

Revenue term	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII		Cn	Pv	Vp	TT	Pd
Vāsal-pērkkaḍamai					1			1		1			
Vāsal-vāl-vari			1	1				2			2		
Vāsal-vari	4	2		1	3			10	2	5	3		
Vāsal-viniyōgam	8							8	1	6	1		
Vāsi-kaḍamai					1			1		1			
Vaṭṭam	1		5	2	1			9	1	1	7		
Vechcha-vilāḍam					1	3	2	6	1	3	1	1	
Vēgāri			1		3			4					4
Vēṇḍukōḷ			1	1	1			3					3
Veṭṭi		2	6	1	2			11	4	1	4	1	1
Veṭṭi-kaṭṭāyam			1					1	1				
Veṭṭi-muṭṭāvāḷ			1	1	3			5					5
Veṭṭi-muṭṭi			1		2			3					3
Veṭṭip-pāṭṭam				2				2	1		1		
Veṭṭi-taṉiyāḷ	2							2		2			
Veṭṭituṟai				2				2				2	
Veṭṭivarga-kāṇikkai			1					1			1		
Veṭṭi-vari	1	6	5	7	6			25	3	8	9	5	
Veṭṭi-vēgaram			1					1	1				
Veṭṭiyān-kāṇikkai				1				1	1				
Veṭṭiyānukkiḍum-paṇam	1							1	1				
Veṭṭiyār-vari				1				1			1		
Veṭṭu				1				1				1	
Vibhūti-kāṇikkai			5	1				6	3		2	1	
Viḍāraṃ		1						1		1			
Viḍudi			1					1			1		
Vikkira-upādi				1				1	1				
Vikudi		1						1		1			
Vilābam					1			1		1			
Vilaiviṇḍubhāgam		1						1			1		
Vilakkaḍaippu	6							6	1	4	1		
Vil-vari		1						1	1				
Vināmam-kirayam			1					1			1		
Viṉāvōlai				2				2			2		
Viniyōgam		3	12	15	8			38	3	2	19	2	1 2
Virimuttu		1	4	7	8			20		5	12	3	
Viriyam					1			1					1
Viṟ-paṇam	2	3						5		4	1		
Vir-piḍi			1					1			1		
Viruttuppaḍi	6	3	1	3	1			14	1	6	4	3	
Viruttuppāḍu				1	1			2		2			
Viśēshādāyam		1	7					8	6		1	1	
Viṭṭi-vēgāḷi			1					1				1	
Vīṭṭut-tēvai	1							1		1			
Vivāhap-paṇam				1				1		1			

NOTES

1. In one case *āḷamañji-ūḻiyam.*
2. Includes also *kuḍivaḻi arasu-pēṟu* and *nilavaḻi arasu-pēṟu.*
3. Includes also *nilavali arisi-kānam.*
4. Includes also *vilaiyāsarudi-ērkkaḍamai.*
5. Includes one *kallaṇai-ālveṭṭu.*
6. Also *kulikku-oru-paṇam.*
7. Also *mahānavami-ūḻiyam.*
8. Also *nāṭṭavar-iḍum-paḻavari.*
9. Also *nāṭṭavar-iḍum-puduvari.*
10. Includes one *naṭṭu-vechcham.*
11. Includes one *paṉṟi-kuṟaṅgu-vilai.*
12. Perhaps mistake for *salattara(m).*
13. Includes one *tuṇḍa-kāṇikkai.*
14. Includes also *vilaiyāsarudi-vāsal-paṇam.*

Table 3

Distribution of revenue terms with a frequency of more than 20

Revenue term	Period							Total	Region				
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII		Cn	Pv	Vp	TT	Pd
Āḷ-amañji	1	3	7	9	6	3	3	32	3	8	16	3	2
Arasu-pēṟu		2	7	7	9			25			18	7	
Arisi-kāṇam	14	7	9	4				34	11	12	11		
Āsu-podumakkaḷ-pērk-kaḍamai	12	3	5	2	1			23	2	10	8	3	
Ayam	14	7	19	18	3	4		65	16	27	18	4	
Iḍait-tuṟai		3	5	8	11	1		28	1	10	11	5	1
Iṇavari	9	2	4	7				22	1	7	11	3	
Iṟai		5	2	6	8	3	1	25	3	7	3	2	10
Īrēkai		1	6	7	10	4	1	29	4	7	13	5	
Jōḍi			14	11	18			43	5	12	22	4	
Kaḍamai	15	12	19	13	12	1		72	12	23	24	1	12
Kāṇikkai	2	8	25	24	22	4	1	86	9	24	39	5	9
Kaṭṭāyam			5	10	8	3	1	27	7	12	7	1	
Kōṇigai		1	6	6	8			21		5	13	3	
Kuḷavaḍai			8	10	11	1		30		1	16	11	2
Maravaḍai	1	4	11	10	30	2	1	59	3	16	22	11	7
Māvaḍai	2	5	14	12	29	3	1	66	5	18	23	13	7
Mugampārvai	9		4	3	5			21	7	10	4		
Nal-erudu	9	4	17	11	15			56	11	14	26	4	1
Nal-kiḍā	5	4	5	3	4			21	5	8	7	1	
Nal-pasu	1	1	7	10	14			33	6	9	16	2	
Nañjey	5	6	18	12	25	3		69	6	14	26	14	9
Nattam			9	6	12	1		28	2	1	10	12	3
Nāṭṭu-viniyōgam	1	2	15	4	3			25		1	24		
Paḷa-vari	2	2	10	13	11	2		40	4	14	17	5	
Paṭṭaḍai-nūlāyam		3	7	4	9	2		25	4	17	4		
Pērk-kaḍamai	3	3	2	5	14	1		28	1	9	13	4	1
Poṉ-vari	15	8	9	5	3			40	13	16	11		
Puḍu-vari	5	2	10	15	11	2		45	4	18	17	6	
Puñjey	6	6	18	12	27	3		72	7	14	28	14	9
Sādam		1	12	7	1			21	2	19			
Sūla-vari	12	7	11	10	7			47	8	21	10	7	1
Talalyārikkam		3	4	8	1	1		28	3	9	14	2	
Taṟik-kaḍamai	6	6	13	7	19	2	1	54	8	19	21	5	1
Upādi	16	20	27	22	17	1		103	13	41	39	7	3
Vari	15	7	7	7	3			39	4	17	15	3	
Vāsal-paṇam	3	6	13	2	2			26	8	7	10	1	
Veṭṭi-vari	1	6	5	7	6			25	3	8	9	5	
Viniyōgam		3	12	15	6			38	3	2	19	2	12

Table 4

Distribution of groups of related terms with identical prefix with a frequency of more than 20

Revenue term	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII		Cn	Pv	Vp	TT	Pd
a. *Adikāri*													
Adikāri-kāṇikkai	1		1					2	2				
Adikāri-mugampārvai			2					2	2				
Adikāri-pēṟu				1				1				1	
Adikāri-jōḍi			6	5	1	1		13	3		4	6	
Adikāri-varttanai				3				3			3		
Adikāri-viṭṭi			1					1				1	
Adikaṟikku-kuḍutta-mudal	1							1		1			
TOTAL	2	–	10	9	1	1	–	23	7	1	7	8	–
b. *Arasu*													
Arasa-viśēsham				1				1				1	
Arasu					1			1			1		
Arasu-kuṟṟam				1				1				1	
Arasu-nibatti				1				1				1	
Arasu-pēṟu		2	7	7	9			25			18	7	
Arasu-sammādam			1	1	1			3			3		
Arasu-sukantiram	1		1					2				2	
TOTAL	–	3	9	11	11	–	–	34	–	–	22	10	2

Revenue term	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII		Cn	Pv	Vp	TT	Pd
c. *Āsu-podumakkaḷ*													
Āsu-podumakkaḷ			1					1				1	
Āsu-podumakkaḷ-pērāl-ponvari	1							1		1			
Āsu-podumakkaḷ-pērk-kaḍamai	12	3	5	2	1			23	2	10	8	3	
Āsu-podumakkaḷ-pērkku-paṇam		1						1			1		
Āsu-podumakkaḷ-pēṟu													
Āsuvak-kaḍamai				1	3			4		4			
Āsuva-poṉvari	1							1	1				
Āsuvadigaḷum-makkaḷ-pēril-kāṇikkai				1				1	1				
TOTAL	14	4	6	4	5	–	–	33	4	15	9	4	1
d. *Ērimīn*													
Ērimīn		3	5	1	4			13	1	3	8	1	
Ērimīn-kāsu	1							1		1			
Ērimīn-pāṭṭam	2	1						3	1	1	1		
Ērimīn-vilai			3	2	2			7		1	6		
Ērimīn-viṟ-paṇam		1	1		1			3	1	1	1		
TOTAL	3	5	9	3	7	–	–	27	3	7	16	1	–
e. *Iḍai*													
Iḍait-tuṟai		3	5	8	11	1		28	1	10	11	5	1
Iḍai-vari				1	1			2				1	1
TOTAL	–	3	5	9	12	1	–	30	1	10	11	6	2

Revenue term	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII		Cn	Pv	Vp	TT	Pd	
f. *Karaṇikkar*														
Karaṇikkarōlaich-chammādam			1						1		1			
Karaṇikkar-sōdi			6	6	2				14		11	3		
Karaṇikkar-suvantiram					1				1	1				
Karaṇikkar-varttanai				4	1				5	1	1	3		
TOTAL	–	–	7	10	4	–	–		21	1	1	13	6	–
g. *Nal*														
Nal-āḍu			1	3	1				5			5		
Nal-erudu	9	4	17	11	15				56	11	14	26	4	1
Nal-erudu-kāṇikkai				1					1				1	
Nal-erumai			5	4	4				13	3	3	7		
Nal-pasu	1	1	7	10	14				33	6	9	16	2	
Nal-kiḍā	5	4	5	3	4				21	5	8	7	1	
TOTAL	15	9	35	32	38	–	–		129	25	34	61	8	1
h. *Nāṭṭu*														
Nāṭṭār-kāṇikkai					1				1			1		
Nāṭṭāyam	1				1				2		2			
Nāttu-kānikkai			6	11	1				18			12	6	
Nāṭṭu-mariyādi		2							2		1			1
Nāṭṭu-nūlāyam	2								2		2			
Nāṭṭu-paḷavari				1	3				4			4		
Nāṭṭu-puḷuvari				3					3			3		
Nāṭṭu-vari	2								2		2			
Nāṭṭu-vari-maganmāi	7								7	1	5	1		
Nāṭṭu-talaiyārikkam				3	1				4	1			3	
Nāṭṭu-viniyōgam	1	2	15	4	3				25		1	24		
TOTAL	13	4	21	22	10	–	–		70	2	13	45	9	1

Revenue term	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII		Cn	Pv	Vp	TT	Pd
i. *Paṭṭadai*													
Parradai				2	1			3				2	1
Paṭṭadai					1	1	1	3		2	1		
Paṭṭadai-āyam	3	2						5	1	4			
Paṭṭadai-nūlāyam		3	7	4	9	2		25	4	17	4		
Paṭṭadai-salattaram				2	1			3			3		
Paṭṭadai-sirrāyam			1					1			1		
Paṭṭadai-taniyāḷ				1				1			1		
Paṭṭadaigaḷil-ilābam					1			1			1		
Paṭṭadai-nibatti			1					1				1	
TOTAL	3	5	9	9	13	3	1	43	5	23	11	3	1
j. *Poṉ*													
Poṉ				1	2			3					3
Poṉ-mudal			3	3	10	2		18	1	4	7	2	4
Poṉ-vari	15	8	9	5	3			40	13	16	11		
Poṉ-vargam			2	2	7	1		12	3	8	1		
Poṟ-pāḍu			1					1			1		
TOTAL	15	8	15	11	22	3	–	74	17	28	20	2	7
k. *Sādam*													
Sādak-kaḍamai				3	2			5		3	2		
Sādam		1	12	7	1			21	2	19			
TOTAL	–	1	12	10	3	–	–	26	2	22	2	–	
l. *Sekku*													
Sekkāyam		1	1	5	3			10	1		7	2	
Sekkiṟai			6	1				7	1		5		1
Sekkottu				2	13	1		16		9	6	1	
Sekku			2					2		1	1		
Sekku-kaḍamai	5	6	5		1			17		2	9	6	
Sekku-mēl-āyam				1				1			1		
Sekkuttuṟai				2				2			2		
TOTAL	5	7	14	11	17	1	–	55	2	12	31	9	1

Revenue term	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII		Cn	Pv	Vp	TT	Pd
m. *Sūlavari*													
Sūlavari	12	7	11	10	7			47	8	21	10	7	1
Sūlavir-rēkai				4				4			2	2	
Sūlavari-poṉ			1					1			1		
TOTAL	12	7	12	14	7	—	—	52	8	21	13	9	1
n. *Talaiyārikkam*													
Talaiyārikkam		3	4	8	12	1		28	3	9	14	2	
Talaiyāri-mērvai		2						2	1	1			
Talaiyāri-sammādam					1			1			1		
Talaiyāri-vari				1				1			1		
TOTAL	—	5	4	9	13	1	—	32	4	10	16	2	—
o. *Taṟi*													
Taṟi			1	1				2		2			
Taṟik-kaḍamai	6	6	13	7	19	2	1	54	8	19	21	5	1
Taṟi-paṇam						2	3	5		4	1		
Taṟi-iṟai		2	3	2				7	1		5		1
TOTAL	6	8	17	10	19	4	4	68	9	25	27	5	2
p. *Ūrkkaṇakku*													
Ūrkkaṇakkar-pērāl-poṉ-vari	1							1		1			
Ūrkkaṇakkar-pērāl-ūsivāsi	8							8	2	5	1		
Ūrkkaṇakkar-vāsal-viniyōgam	4							4	1	3			
Ūrkkaṇakkar-pērkkaḍamai	9							9	1	7	1		2
TOTAL	22	—	—	—	—	—	—	22	4	16	2		

Revenue term	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII		Cn	Pv	Vp	TT	Pd
q. *Vāsal*													
Vāsal		1							1	1			
Vāsal-kaḍamai					3				3	3			
Vāsal-kānam	1								1	1			
Vāsal-kuḻipaṇam			2						2	2			
Vāsal-maṉai			1	3	1				5		1	3	1
Vāsal-maṉai-kāsāyam				4					4		4		
Vāsal-oṭṭu	9	1	1						11	3	5	1	2
Vāsal-paṇam	3	6	13	2	2				26	8	7	10	1
Vāsal-pērkkaḍamai					1				1		1		
Vāsal-vāl-vari			1	1					2			2	
Vāsal-vari	4	2		1	3				10	2	5	3	
Vāsal-viniyōgam	8								8	1	6	1	
TOTAL	25	10	18	11	10	—	—		74	14	31	22	6	1
r. *Veṭṭi*													
Veṭṭi		2	6	1	2				11	4	1	4	1	1
Veṭṭi-kaṭṭāyam			1						1	1				
Veṭṭi-muṭṭāvāḷ			1	1	3				5					5
Veṭṭi-muṭṭi			1		2				3					3
Veṭṭi-paṭṭam				2					2	1			1	
Veṭṭi-taniyāḷ	2								2		2			
Veṭṭituṟai				2					2				2	
Veṭṭivarga-kāṇikkai			1						1			1		
Veṭṭi-vari	1	6	5	7	6				25	3	6	9	5	
Veṭṭi-vēgaram			1						1	1				
Veṭṭiyān-kāṇikkai				1					1	1				
Veṭṭiyānukku-iḍum-paṇam	1								1	1				
Veṭṭiyār-vari					1				1			1		
TOTAL	4	8	16	14	14	—	—		56	12	11	15	9	9

Table 5

Distribution of group of terms wth suffix āyam

Revenue term	Period							Total	Region				
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII		Cn	Pv	Vp	TT	Pd
Aḷḷāyam						1		1		1			
Anaittāyam	1		1		1			3		1	1		1
Antarāyam		1	1		1			3			1		2
Āyam	14	7	19	18	3	4		65	16	27	18	4	
Ērimīr-āyam		1						1			1		
Ilai-āyam				1				1				1	
Kallāyam			4	3	2			9			7	2	
Karu-āyam			1					1			1		
Kuruvi-āyam			3	1	1			5			3	2	
Kāsāyam		1	1					2		1	1		
Malai-kāval-āyam						1		1		1			
Mīṉ-āyam				1				1				1	
Nāṭṭāyam	1				1			2		2			
Nāṭṭu-nūlāyam	2							2		2			
Nellāyam	13	1						14	3	10	1		
Nūlāyam	1	4	6	1				12	1	4	7		
Paṭṭaḍai-āyam	3	2						5	1	4			
Paṭṭaḍai-nūlāyam		3	7	4	9	2		25	4	17	4		
Paṭṭaḍai-sirrāyam			1					1			1		
Pērāyam				1		1		2	1		1		
Sandai-āyam					1			1		1			
Sekkuāyam		1	1	5	3			10	1		7	2	
Sekku-mēl-āyam				1				1			1		
Siddhāyam			2		1			3			1		2
Tirigai-āyam			5	4	3			12			9	3	
Tōṭṭap-puṟavāyam		1						1			1		
Uḷḷāyam	3	1		1		1		6	2	2	2		
TOTAL	38	23	52	41	26	10	–	190	20	74	67	17	3

Table 6

Distribution of group of terms with suffix kāṇikkai

Revenue term	Period							Total	Region				
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII		Cn	Pv	Vp	TT	Pd
Adikāri-kāṇikkai	1		1					2	2				
Aparāda-kāṇikkai			1					1		1			
Asuvatigaḷum-makkaḷ-pēril-kāṇikkai				1				1	1				
Āṭṭaik-kāṇikkai			4					4			4		
Dinasari-kāṇikkai				2				2				2	
Durgak-kāṇikkai						1		1		1			
Iraiyili-kāṇikkai				1				1				1	
Kaṇakkar-kāṇikkai				2				2				2	
Kaṇakku-kāṇikkai			1					1			1		
Kaṇḍu-kāṇikkai			1					1			1		
Kāṇikkai	2	8	25	24	22	4	1	86	9	24	39	5	9
Karpūrak-kāṇikkai			2	6				8			5	3	
Kāttigaik-kāṇikkai	6		1	1				8		7		1	
Koḷundu-kāṇikkai				3				3				3	
Kuḍimāḍu-kāṇikkai					2			2			2		
Kudirai-kāṇikkai			2	7	2			11			8	3	
Mūnru-kāṇikkai	1							1	1				
Nañjey-kāṇikkai				1				1			1		
Nāṭṭār-kāṇikkai					1			1			1		
Nāṭṭu-kāṇikkai			6	11	1			18			12	6	
Nayinār-kāṇikkai			1					1			1		
Noralai-kāṇikkai			1					1			1		
Paṭṭa-kāṇikkai			1					1			1		
Pirasāda-kāṇikkai					1			1			1		
Sādik-kāṇikkai				1				1	1				
Samaiyappaḍi-kāṇikkai			1					1			1		
Uchavāḍi-kāṇikkai				1				1			1		
Valinaḍaik-kāṇikkai	2							2		2			
Veṭṭivarga-kāṇikkai			1					1			1		
Veṭṭiyān-kāṇikkai				1				1	1				
Vibhūti-kāṇikkai			5	1				6	3		2	1	
TOTAL	12	8	54	63	29	5	1	172	18	35	83	27	9

Table 7

Distribution of group of terms with suffix pēṟu

Revenue term	Period							Total	Region				
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII		Cn	Pv	Vp	TT	Pd
Adikāri-pēṟu				1				1				1	
Arasu-pēṟu		2	7	7	9			25			18	7	
Āsu-podumakkaḷ-pēṟu					1			1					1
Ilāñjinaip-pēṟu				1				1	1				
Kaṇakku-pēṟu					1			1			1		
Kāṇiyāṭchip-pēṟu			2	1				3			3		
Kōmuṟṟavap-pēṟu	14							14	3	10	1		
Mādap-pēṟu					1			1			1		
Sanduvikkirakap-pēṟu		1		1				2	1				1
TOTAL	14	3	9	11	12	—	—	49	5	10	24	8	2

Table 8

Distribution of group of terms with suffix viniyōgam

Revenue term	Period							Total	Region				
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII		Cn	Pv	Vp	TT	Pd
Kirāma-viniyōgam		1						1			1		
Nāṭṭu-viniyōgam	1	2	15	4	3			25		1	24		
Ōlai-viniyōgam				1				1			1		
Tiruvāsal-viniyōgam	6	1						7	1	6			
Urkkaṇakkar-pērāl-vāsal-viniyōgam	4							4	1	3			
Ūr-viniyōgam	1		1	1	4			7	3	3	1		
Vāsal-viniyōgam	8							8	1	6	1		
Viniyōgam		3	12	15	8			38	3	2	19	2	12
TOTAL	20	7	28	21	15	—	—	91	9	21	47	2	12

Table 9

Distribution of group of terms with suffix varttanai

Revenue term	Period							Total	Region				
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII		Cn	Pv	Vp	TT	Pd
Adikāra-varttanai			3					3			3		
Anutara-varttanai				1				1			1		
Anuvarttinai			2					2			2		
Avasara-varttanai	3		9	2				14			7	7	
Iḍaiyīṭṭu-varttanai	1							1			1		
Irāyasa-vattanai	3		6	2				11			7	4	
Kāḍu-kāval-varttinai			1					1		1			
Karaṇikkar-varttanai			4	1				5	1		1	3	
Kaṭṭigai-vattanai	2		1					3			3		
Kōvai-varttinai			2					2			2		
Nirupa-vattanai	1							1			1		
Ōlaiēḻuttu-varttanai			4	2				6			4	2	
Ōlai-vattanai			2					2				2	
Palanam-varttinai			1					1			1		
Pudurāyasa-varttanai			3					3				3	
Sālai-varttinai					1			1		1			
Ūrvaḻiōṇa-varttinai			1					1				1	
Varttinai			2	3				5	3	1	1		
TOTAL	10		41	11	1	–		63	4	3	34	22	

Table 10

Distribution of terms relating to offices

Revenue term	Period						Total	Region				
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII		Cn	Pv	Vp	TT	Pd
Adikāra-varttinai				3				3			3		
Adikāri-kāṇikkai	1		1					2	2				
Adikāri-mugampārvai			2					2	2				
Adikāri-pēṟu				1				1				1	
Adikāri-jōḍi			6	5	1	1		13	3		4	6	
Adikāri-viṭṭi			1					1				1	
Adikārikku-kudutta-mudal	1							1		1			
Aṅgasālaigaḷ-sambaḍam	2							2	2				
Aṅgasālai-jōḍi	1							1				1	
Aṅgasālaigal-viṭṭi	1							1				1	
Anutara-varttinai					1			1			1		
Anuvarttinai			2					2			2		
Araimanai-nilaiyāḷ			2					2				2	
Araimanai-jōḍi						1		1				1	
Arasa-viśēsham			1					1				1	
Arasu					1			1			1		
Arasu-kuṟṟam			1					1				1	
Arasu-nibatti			1					1				1	
Arasu-pēṟu	2		7	7	9			25			18	7	
Arasu-sammādam			1	1	1			3			3		
Avasara-varttanai			3	9	2			14			7	7	
Daṇṇāyakkar-magamai	2		3					5		3	2		
Durgak-kāṇikkai						1		1			1		
Durga-kāsu	1							1					1
Idaiyīṭṭu-vattanai			1					1			1		
Irāyasa-vattanai			3	6	2			11			7	4	
Kaḍaikkūṭṭān-mugampārvai			2					2	2				
Kaḍaikkūṭṭan-jōḍi			2			1		3	2			1	
Kaḍaikkūṭṭu-ilakkai					1			1				1	
Kāḍu-kāval	1		1					2			2		
Kāḍu-kāval-varttinai				1				1		1			
Kaṇakkar-kāṇikkai				2				2				2	
Kaṇakkar-jōḍi	1		1					2			1	1	
Kaṇakk-ilakkai					1			1					1

Revenue term	Period							Total	Region				
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII		Cn	Pv	Vp	TT	Pd
Kaṇakku-kāṇikkai			1					1			1		
Kaṇakku-pēṟu					1			1			1		
Kaṇkāṇi-kaṇakk-ilakkai			1					1					1
Karaṇikkarōlaich-chammādam			1					1			1		
Karaṇikkar-jōḍi			6	6	2			14			11	3	
Karaṇikkar-suvantiram					1			1		1			
Karṇaikkar-varttanai				4	1			5	1		1	3	
Kāṟiya-ārāṭchi				1				1	1				
Kāṟiyappēr-jōḍi				1				1			1		
Kaṭṭigai-maganmai		1						1				1	
Kaṭṭigai-mērvai		1	1					2	1	1			
Kaṭṭigai-varttanai			2	1				3			3		
Kōmuṟṟavap-pēṟu	14							14	3	10	1		
Mugampārvai	9		4	3	5			21	7	10	4		
Nayināṟ-kāṇikkai			1					1			1		
Nirupa-varttanai			1					1			1		
Ōlai-sambaḍam	4							4		3	1		
Ōlaieḻuttu-varttanai				4	2			6			4	2	
Ōlai-vattanai				2				2				2	
Palanam-varttinai				1				1			1		
Piradāni-jōḍi				2				2				2	
Puduṟāyasa-vattanai				3				3				3	
Sandivikkirakam	8	1						9	1	7	1		
Sanduvikkirakap-pēṟu		1		1				2	1				1
Sanduvikkirakap-poṉ	4							4		4			
Sēnaipovar-jōḍi			1					1				1	
Sēnaipovar-viṭṭi			1					1				1	
Talaiyārikkam		3	4	8	12	1		28	3	9	14	2	
Talaiyāri-mērvai		2						2	1	1			
Talaiyāri-sammādam						1		1			1		
Talaiyāri-vari				1				1			1		
Uchāvaḍi-kāṇikkai				1				1			1		
TOTAL	41	14	61	84	44	5	—	249	32	51	103	59	4

APPENDIX 2

CONCORDANCE OF REVENUE TERMS IN INSCRIPTIONS

The numbers following the terms are the serial numbers of the inscriptions given in Appendix 3 below and assigned period-wise as follows.

Nos.	1	to	32	:	Period	I	Nos.	307	to	436 : Period	V
Nos.	33	to	85	:	Period	II	Nos.	437	to	466 : Period	VI
Nos.	86	to	205	:	Period	III	Nos.	467	to	481 : Period	VII
Nos.	206	to	306	:	Period	IV					

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APPENDIX 3

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS YIELDING REVENUE TERMS

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Period I						
1	1302	1921:454	Tiruvennainallur	Tirukkoyilur	SA	Vp
2	1302	1925:459a	Pallikonda	Vellore	NA	Pv
3	1302	1925:462	–do–	–do–	NA	Pv
4	1302	1925:463	–do–	–do–	NA	Pv
5	1302	1925:458	–do–	–do–	NA	Pv
6	1302	1925:459	–do–	–do–	NA	Pv
7	1302	1925:461	–do–	–do–	NA	Pv
8	1340	1934:59	Vadamadevi-mangalam	–do–	NA	Pv
9	1340	1934:62	–do–	–do–	NA	Pv
10	1340	1905:416	Gudimallur	Walajapet	NA	Cn
11	1340	1919:218	Tirumalpadi	Wandavasi	NA	Pv
12	1340	1910:298	Pulipparkoil	Madhurantakam	Cg	Pv
13	1343	1940:111	Tiruvottur	Cheyyar	NA	Pv
14	1343	1924:136	Kodungalur	Wandavasi	NA	Pv
15	1343	1940:157	Ukkal	Cheyyar	NA	Pv
16	1344	1905:425	Gudimallur	Walajapet	NA	Cn
17	1344	1905:424	–do–	–do–	NA	Cn
18	1346	1920:469	Salukkai	Wandavasi	NA	Pv
19	1346	1931:216	Manamadi	Chingleput	Cg	Pv
20	1348	1911:362	Tiruvanaikkoil	–do–	Cg	Pv
21	1350	1924:140	Kodungalur	Wandavasi	NA	Pv
22	1350	1919:220	Tirumalpadi	–do–	NA	Pv
23	1350	1922:231	Tenneri	Kanchipuram	Cg	Cn
24	1350	1919:221	Tirumalpadi	Wandavasi	NA	Pv
25	1350	1921:271	Takkolam	Arkonam	NA	Cn
26	1350	1916:214	Tiruppukkuli	Kanchipuram	Cg	Cn
27	1350	1919:217	Tirumalpadi	Wandavasi	NA	Pv
28	1350	1924:139	Kodungalur	–do–	NA	Pv
29	1350	1934:53	Vadamadevi-mangalam	Polur	NA	Pv
30	1350	1917:306	Avur	Tiruvannamalai	NA	Vp
31	1350	1934:61	Vadamadevi-mangalam	Polur	NA	Pv
32	1350	1935:218	Nerkuman	Vriddhachalam	SA	Vp

Period II

33	1352	1919:297	Avur	Tiruvannamalai	NA	Vp
34	1361	1921:203	Serkkad	Gudiyattam	NA	Pv
35	1363	1918:184	Brahmadesam	Viluppuram	SA	Vp
36	1363	1919:228	Madam	Wandavasi	NA	Pv
37	1366	1919:298	Avur	Tiruvannamalai	NA	Vp
38	1368	1919:34	Marakkanam	Tindivanam	SA	Pv
39	1369	*SII*, xvii, 179	Tiruppalappandal	Tirukkoyilur	SA	Vp
40	1369	*SII*, xxii, 248	Tiruppanangadu	Cheyyar	NA	Pv
41	1370	*SII*, xxii, 249	–do–	–do–	NA	Pv
42	1370	1938:513	Tiruvennainallur	Tirukkoyilur	SA	Vp
43	1371	1930:192	Kunrattur	Sriperumbudur	Cg	Cn
44	1372	*SII*, viii, 214	Ponpetti	Arantangi	Pk	Pd
45	1372	*SII*, viii, 282	Tittagudi	Vridhachalam	SA	Vp
46	1374	*SII*, i, 72	Tirumalai	Polur	NA	Pv
47	1374	*SII*, iv, 318	Melpadi	Chittoor	Ct	Cn
48	1374	*SII*, iv, 351	Kanchipuram	Kanchipuram	Cg	Cn
49	1374	*SII*, viii, 164	Tiruvannamalai	Tiruvannamalai	NA	Pv
50	1374	*IPS*, 681	Tiruvengavasal	Kulattur	PK	Pd
51	1374	1911:324	Madambakkam	Saidapet	Cg	Cn
52	1374	1933:173	Tirukkalukunram	Chingleput	Cg	Pv
53	1374	1923:390	Tiruppulivanam	Kanchipuram	Cg	Cn
54	1374	*SII*, v, 631	Tirumalavadi	Udayarpalayam	Tp	Vp
55	1374	1930:190	Kunrattur	Sriperumbudur	Cg	Cn
56	1375	1933:170	Tirukkalukunram	Chingleput	Cg	Pv
57	1375	1919:294	Avur	Tiruvannamalai	NA	Vp
58	1376	*IPS*, 680	Kunnandarkoli	Kulattur	PK	Pd
59	1379	*SII*, i, 65	Virinchipuram	Vellore	NA	Pv
60	1380	*IPS*, 682	Tirugokarnam	Alangudi	PK	Pd
61	1381	1930:193	Kunrattur	Sriperumbadur	Cg	Cn
62	1381	1938:457	Ganganagar	Tirukkoyilur	SA	Vp
63	1381	*SII*, xxii, 241	Tiruppanangadu	Cheyyar	NA	Pv
64	1381	*SII*, xxiii, 494	Kuttalam	Mayuram	Tj	TT
65	1382	*SII*, xvii, 754	Tirupparkadal	Walajapet	NA	Pv
66	1382	1909:312	Tirukkachchiyur	Chingleput	Cg	Pv
67	1382	*SII*, viii, 489	Kalahasti	Chandragiri	Ct	Cn
68	1383	1905:422	Gudimallur	Walajapet	NA	Cn
69	1384	1909:313	Tirukkachchiyur	Chingleput	Cg	Pv
70	1386	1918:409	Tirunagari	Sirkali	Tj	TT
71	1388	*SII*, viii, 156	Tiruvannamalai	Tiruvannamalai	NA	Pv
72	1388	*SII*, viii, 163	–do–	–do–	NA	Pv
73	1388	1933:174	Tirukkalukunram	Chingleput	Cg	Pv
74	1388	1934:63	Vadamadevi-mangalam	Polur	NA	Pv
75	1389	*SII*, viii, 72	Tiruvannamalai	Tiruvannamalai	NA	Pv
76	1390	*SII*, vii, 758	Tiruppadirippuliyur	Cuddalore	SA	Vp
77	1391	*SII*, xxii, 239	Tiruppanagadu	Cheyyar	NA	Pv

Period II (continued)

78	1395	*SII*, xxii, 194	Graman	Tirukkoyilur	SA	Vp
79	1397	1924:138	Kodungalur	Wandavasi	NA	Pv
80	1397	1930:221	Kunrattur	Sriperumbuder	Cg	Cn
81	1397	1944:285	Valikandapuram	Perambalur	Tp	Vp
82	1397	1965:320	Gangaikonda-cholapuram	Udayarpalayam	Tp	Vp
83	1398	1916:217	Tiruppukkuli	Kanchipuram	Cg	Cn
84	1399	1928:244	Devanur	Gingee	SA	Vp
85	1400	1938:411	Tiruppalappandal	Tirukkoyilur	SA	Vp

Period III

86	1401	*SII*, iv, 343	Veppur	Gudiyattam	NA	Pv
87	1402	1940:102	Tiruvottur	Chayyar	NA	Pv
88	1402	1912:422	Valuvur	Mayuram	Tj	TT
89	1403	1919:117	Velur	Tindivanam	SA	Vp
90	1403	1941:81	Padaividu	Polur	NA	Pv
91	1403	*IPS*, 695	Kunnandarkoil	Kulattur	PK	Pd
92	1404	1938:417	Tiruppalappandal	Tirukkoyilur	SA	Vp
93	1404	1910:293	Pulipparkoil	Madhurantakam	Cg	Pv
94	1404	1935:210	Nerkunam	Vridhachalam	SA	Vp
95	1404	1923:368	Perunagar	Kanchipuram	Cg	Cn
96	1404	1925:401	Achyutamangalam	Nannilam	Tj	TT
97	1405	1938:413	Triuppalappandal	Tirukkoyilur	SA	Vp
98	1405	1913:25	Aduturai	Perambalur	Tp	Vp
99	1406	*SII*, i, 55	Veppambattu	Vellore	NA	Pv
100	1406	*SII*, iv, 825	Kanchipuram	Kanchipuram	Cg	Cn
101	1406	1956:280	–do–	–do–	Cg	Cn
102	1407	1919:236	Madam	Wandavasi	NA	Pv
103	1408	*SII*, xxii, 242	Tiruppanangadu	Cheyyar	NA	Pv
104	1408	1927:135	Iluppapattu	Mayuram	Tj	TT
105	1408	1955:317	Kanchipuram	Kanchipuram	Cg	Cn
106	1410	1921:452	Tiruvennainallur	Tirukkoyilur	SA	Vp
107	1410	1938:403	Tiruppalappandal	–do–	SA	Vp
108	1410	1938:404	–do–	–do–	SA	Vp
109	1414	1923:367	Perunagar	Kanchiparam	Cg	Cn
110	1414	1918:109	Kugaiyur	Kallakurichi	SA	Vp
111	1415	1921:335	Tirukkoyilur	Tirukkoyilur	SA	Vp
112	1415	1929:290	Edayar	–do–	SA	Vp
113	1415	1938:409	Tiruppalappandal	–do–	SA	Vp
114	1416	1944:115	Rishivandyam	Kallakurichi	SA	Vp
115	1416	1938:406	Tiruppalappandal	Tirukkoyilur	SA	Vp
116	1416	1944:278	VAlikandapuram	Perambalur	Tp	Vp
117	1417	*SII*, viii, 275	Tittagudi	Vriddhachalam	SA	Vp
118	1417	1910:294	Pulipparkoil	Madhurantakam	Cg	Pv
119	1418	*SII*, viii, 276	Tittagudi	Vriddhachalam	SA	Vp

Period III (continued)

120	1418	1934:125	Adanur	–do–	SA	Vp
121	1419	1923:375	Visur	Kanchipuram	Cg	Cn
122	1419	1923:381	Manampadi	–do–	Cg	Cn
123	1420	*IPS*, 696	Perungalur	Alangudi	PK	Pd
124	1420	1941:76	Padaividu	Polur	NA	Pv
125	1420	*SII*, viii, 258	Tirukkalar	Mannargudi	Tj	TT
126	1423	*SII*, viii, 157	Tiruvannamalai	Tiruvannamalai	NA	Pv
127	1423	1929:247	Pennadam	Vridhachalam	SA	Vp
128	1423	1941:91	Attuvampadi	Polur	NA	Pv
129	1424	*IPS*, 700	Viralimalai	Kulattur	PK	Pd
130	1425	1924:134	Kodungalur	Wandavasi	NA	Pv
131	1425	1941:74	Padaividu	Polur	NA	Pv
132	1425	1923:214	Tiruppulivanam	Chingleput	Cg	Cn
133	1426	*SII*, xvii, 562	Tevur	Nagapattinam	Tj	TT
134	1426	*IPS*, 784	Palangarai	Alangudi	PK	Pd
135	1426	1941:58	Padaividu	Polur	NA	Pv
136	1426	1941:71	–do–	–do–	NA	Pv
137	1427	*SII*, xvii, 736	Tirumullaivayal	Saidapet	Cg	Cn
138	1427	1912:226	Tiruvorriyur	–do–	Cg	Cn
139	1427	1921:270	Takkolam	Arakonam	NA	Cn
140	1427	1943:131	Tiruttani	Tiruttani	Cg	Cn
141	1427	1910:215	Padi:Tiruvalidayam	Saidapet	Cg	Cn
142	1427	1955:313	Kanchipuram	Kanchipuram	Cg	Cn
143	1427	1920:152	Tiruppasur	Tiruvallur	Cg	Cn
144	1428	1913:376	Chidambaram	Chidambaram	SA	Vp
145	1428	1937:113	Jambukesvaram	Tiruchirappali	Tp	TT
146	1429	*SII*, , 554	Tiruvaiyaru	Thanjavur	Tj	Vp
147	1429	1913:30	Aduturai	Perambalur	Tp	Vp
148	1429	1914:59	Tiruvaigavur	Papanasam	Tj	Vp
149	1429	1917:216	Korukkai	Mayuram	Tj	Vp
150	1429	1918:91	Vriddhachalam	Vridhachalam	SA	Vp
151	1429	1938:490	Elavanasur	Tirukkoyilur	SA	Vp
152	1429	1932:78	Tiruppanandal	Kumbakonam	Tj	Vp
153	1429	1941:59	Padaividu	Polur	NA	Pv
154	1429	*TDI*, i, 192	Tirumalai	Chandragiri	Ct	Cn
155	1430	1955:332	Kanchipuram	Kanchipuram	Cg	Cn
156	1430	*SII*, viii, 349	Sendamangalam	Tindivanam	SA	Vp
157	1430	1926:496	Veppur	Walajapet	NA	Pv
158	1430	1941:78	Padaividu	Polur	NA	Pv
159	1430	1922:207	Sriperumbudur	Sriperumbudur	Cg	Cn
160	1431	1926:497	Veppur	Walajapet	NA	Pv
161	1431	1934:127	Adanur	Vriddhachalam	SA	Vp
162	1431	1941:77	Padaividu	Polur	NA	Pv
163	1431	1941:79	–do–	–do–	NA	Pv
164	1433	1919:229	Madam	Wandavasi	NA	Pv
165	1433	*TDI*, i, 199, 200	Tirumalai	Chandgragiri	Ct	Cn

Period III (continued)

166	1435	*SII*, vi, 251	Manimangalam	Saidapet	Cg	Cn
167	1435	*SII*, xxiv, 331	Srirangam	Tiruchirappali	Tp	TT
168	1435	1955:308	Kanchipuram	Kanchipuram	Cg	Cn
169	1438	1910:300	Pulipparkoil	Madhurantakam	Cg	Pv
170	1439	1913:26	Aduturai	Perambalur	Tp	Vp
171	1439	1929:212	Tiruvaduturai	Vriddhachalam	SA	Vp
172	1442	*SII*, xvii,751,760	Tirupparkadal	Walajapet	NA	Pv
173	1442	1925:429	Tiruttalur	Cuddalore	SA	Vp
174	1443	*IPS*, 706	Virchchilai	Tirumayyam	PK	Pd
175	1443	1916:230	Srimushnam	Chidambaram	SA	Vp
176	1443	1929:215	Tiruvaduturai	Vriddhachalam	SA	Vp
177	1443	1929:250	Pennadam	–do–	SA	Vp
178	1443	1940:385	U. Tirumalai	Tiruchirappalli	Tp	TT
179	1444	1940:380	–do–	–do–	Tp	TT
180	1444	1941:60	Padaividu	Polur	NA	Pv
181	1444	1941:62	–do–	–do–	NA	Pv
182	1444	1941:63	–do–	–do–	NA	Pv
183	1444	1941:64	–do–	–do–	NA	Pv
184	1444	1941:65	–do–	–do–	NA	Pv
185	1444	1941:68	–do–	–do–	NA	Pv
186	1445	1922:32	Tiruvamattur	Viluppuram	SA	Vp
187	1445	1942:168	Indiravanam	Polur	NA	Pv
188	1445	*SII*, xxiii, 69	Tirumalai	–do–	NA	Pv
189	1446	*SII*, xxii, 161	Elavanasur	Tirukkoyilur	SA	Vp
190	1446	*IPS*, 789	Adanur	Tirumayyam	PK	Pd
191	1446	1905:23	Tirukkoyilur	Tirukkoyilur	SA	Vp
192	1446	1921:476	Tiruvennainallur	–do–	SA	Vp
193	1446	1926:251	Kilapaluvur	Ariyalur	Tp	Vp
194	1446	1944:280	Valikandapuram	Perambalur	Tp	Vp
195	1447	1920:471	Salukkai	Wandavasi	NA	Pv
196	1447	1941:66	Padaividu	Polur	NA	Pv
197	1447	1942:155	Tachambadi	–do–	NA	Pv
198	1448	*SII*, v, 998	Kadapperi	Madhurantakam	Cg	Pv
199	1448	1923:201	Tiruppulivanam	Chingleput	Cg	Cn
200	1448	1923:370	Perunagar	Kanchipuram	Cg	Cn
201	1448	*SII*, xxiv, 336	Srirangam	Tiruchirappali	Tp	TT
202	1449	*IPS*, 791	Ponnamarapati	Tirumayyam	PK	Pd
203	1449	1909:431	Siddhalingamadam	Tirukkoyilur	SA	Vp
204	1449	1929:263	Pennadam	Vriddhachalam	SA	Vp
205	1450	1920:44	Tirumalavadi	Udaiyarpalayam	Tp	Vp

Period IV

206	1451	1922:458	Papanasam	Papanasam	Tj	TT
207	1452	*SII*, xxiii, 67	Tirumalai	Polur	NA	Pv

Period IV (continued)

208	1452	*IPS*, 707	Tekkattur	Tirumayyam	PK	Pd
209	1452	1910:295	Pulipparkoil	Madhurantakam	Cg	Pv
210	1452	1922:448	Papanasam	Papanasam	Tj	TT
211	1453	1941:94	Attuvampadi	Polur	NA	Pv
212	1453	*IPS*, 794	Palankarai	Alangudi	PK	Pd
213	1453	1912:389	Devikapuram	Arni	NA	Pv
214	1453	1922:459	Papanasam	Papanasam	Tj	TT
215	1454	1930:207	Kunrattur	Sriperumbudur	Cg	Cn
216	1454	1930:217	–do–	–do–	Cg	Cn
217	1455	1905:383	Kaveripakkam	Arkonam	NA	Cn
218	1455	*SII*, ii, 23	Thanjavur	Thanjavur	Tj	TT
219	1455	1925:270	Tiruvidaikali	Mayuram	Tj	TT
220	1455	1929:261	Pennadam	Vriddhachalam	SA	Vp
221	1456	1941:47	Padaividu	Polur	NA	Pv
222	1456	1929:257	Pennadam	Vriddhachalam	SA	Vp
223	1457	*SII*, xvii, 254	Singavaram	Ginge	SA	Pv
224	1457	1922:452	Papanasam	Papanasam	Tj	TT
225	1457	1955:315	Kanchipuram	Kanchipuram	C8	Cn
226	1458	1940:203	Vrinchipuram	Vellore	NA	Pv
227	1458	1941:48	Padaividu	Polur	NA	Pv
228	1459	1913:27	Aduturai	Perambalur	Tp	Vp
229	1459	1935:61	Tellar	Wandavasi	NA	Pv
230	1460	*SII*, vi 4	Tirukkattuppalli	Thanjavur	Tj	TT
231	1460	*IPS*, 753	Kudmiyamalai	Kulattur	PK	Pd
232	1461	*IPS*, 800	Tirumayyam	Tirumayyam	PK	Pd
233	1462	*IPS*, 711	Tirukkattalai	Alangudi	PK	Pd
234	1462	1912:244	Tiruvorriyur	Saidapet	Cg	Cn
235	1462	1916:252	Srimushnam	Chidambaran	SA	Vp
236	1462	1919:42	Marakkanam	Trindivanam	SA	Pv
237	1462	1941:85	Padaividu	Polur	NA	Pv
238	1462	*TDI*, ii, 12	Tirumalai	Chandragiri	Ct	Cn
239	1463	*TDI*, ii, 18	–do–	–do–	Ct	Cn
240	1463	1921:413	Tiruvadi	Cuddalore	SA	Vp
241	1463	1920:211	Tiruvadaturai	Vriddhachalam	SA	Vp
242	1464	*SII*, xxiv, 339; *SII*, iv, 506	Srirangam	Tiruchirappalli	TP	TT
243	1464	1913:423	Aragalur	Attur	S1	Vp
244	1464	1918:96	Kugaiyur	Kallakurichi	SA	Vp
245	1465	*IPS*, 801	Rangiyam	Tirumayyam	PK	Pd
246	1465	1961:323	Tirukkattuppalli	Thanjavur	Tj	TT
247	1465	1962:194	Madambakkam	Saidapet	C8	Cn
248	1466	*SII*, xvii, 532	Vedaranyam	Tirutturaippundi	Tj	TT
249	1467	1940:202	Virinchipuram	Vellore	NA	Pv
250	1469	*SII*, iv, 348	Kanchipuram	Kanchipuram	Cg	Cn
251	1469	*SII*, vii, 83	Vallam	Wandavasi	NA	Pv
252	1470	1912:487	Valuvur	Mayuram	Tj	TT
253	1470	1918:166	Brahmadesam	Viluppuram	SA	Vp

Period IV (continued)

254	1470	1918:172	–do–	–do–	SA	Vp
255	1470	1922-8	Tiruvamattur	–do–	SA	Vp
256	1470	1938:416	Tiruppalappandal	Tirukkoyilur	SA	Vp
257	1470	1925:428	Tiruttalur	Cuddalore	CA	Vp
258	1470	1935:213	Nerkundram	Vriddhachalam	SA	Vp
259	1471	*SII*, vii, 491	Koviladi	Thanjavur	Tj	TT
260	1471	1919:118	Vellur	Tindivanam	SA	Vp
261	1471	1921:120	Ayyampàlayam	Arni	NA	Pv
262	1472	*SII*, iv, 45	Virinchipuram	Vellore	NA	Pv
263	1472	*SII*, xxiv, 342	Srirangam	Tiruchirappalli	Tp	TT
264	1472	*IPS*, 758	Unaiyur	Tirumayyam	PK	Pd
265	1473	*SII*, xxii, 93	Jambai	Tirukkoyilur	SA	Vp
266	1474	*TDI*, ii, 55	Tirumalai	Chandragiri	PK	Pd
267	1475	*IPS*, 713	Pudukottai	Pudukkottai	PK	Pd
268	1478	1936:208	Nerkunam	Vriddhachalam	SA	Vp
269	1480	*IPS*, 714	Tirukkattalai	Alangudi	PK	Pd
270	1480	1910:302	Pulipparkoil	Madhurantakam	Cg	Pv
271	1481	*IPS*, 819	Palangarai	Alangudi	PK	Pd
272	1481	*IPS*, 820	–do–	–do–	PK	Pd
273	1481	1921:450	Tiruvadi	Cuddalore	SA	Vp
274	1482	1921:461	Tiruvennainallur	Tirukkoyilur	SA	Vp
275	1482	1918:103	Kugaiyur	Vriddhachalam	SA	Vp
276	1483	*SII*, xvii, 220	Tiruvakkarai	Viluppuram	SA	Vp
277	1483	*IPS*, 821	Neyvasal	Trirumayyam	PK	Pd
278	1484	1909:318	Triukkachchiyur	Chingleput	Cg	Cn
279	1485	1922:10	Tiruvamattur	Viluppuram	SA	Vp
280	1485	1922:11	Tiruvamattur	Viluppuram	SA	Vp
281	1485	1916:238	Srimushnam	Chidambaram	SA	Vp
282	1485	1932:160	Tiruppurambiyam	Kumbakonam	Tj	Vp
283	1487	1920:54	Tirumalavadi	Udaiyarpalay	Tp	Vp
284	1487	1922:225	Tenneri	Kanchipuram	Cg	Cn
285	1487	1936:208	Nerkunam	Tirukkoyilur	SA	Vp
286	1487	1941:13	Attuvampadi	Popular	NA	Pv
287	1488	1918:396	Shiyali	Shiyali	Tj	Vp
288	1489	*SII*, xxiv, 346	Srirangam	Tiruchirappalli	Tp	TT
289	1489	1940:384	U Tirumalai	–do–	Tp	TT
290	1490	1929:414	Ponnur	Wandavasi	NA	Pvt
291	1492	1916:235	Srimushnam	Chidambaram	SA	Vp
292	1492	1938:145	Tiruchendurai	Triuchirappalli	TP	Tt
293	1492	1920:51	Tirumalavadi	Udaiyarpalayam	TP	Vp
294	1493	1919:4	Sembedu	Gingee	SA	Pv
295	1494	1939:243	Puduppaliyam	Polur	NA	Pv
296	1494	1941:61	Padaividu	–do–	NA	Pv
297	1494	1913:74	Tiruchengattangudi	Nannilam	Tj	TT
298	1495	*TDI*, ii, 133	Tirumalai	Chandragiri	Ct	Cn
299	1496	1933-35	Palur	Chingleput	Cg	Pv
300	1496	1941:166	Ulaganallur	Kallakurichi	SA	Vp

Period IV (continued)

301	1497	1963	Lalgudi	Lalgudi	Tp	TT
302	1498	1941:190	Varanjaram	Kallakurichi	SA	Vp
303	1499	*IPS*, 729	Tiruvarangulam	Alangudi	PK	Pd
304	1500	1918:122	Kugaiyur	Kallakurichi	SA	Vp
305	1500	1941:53	Padaividu	Polur	NA	Pv
306	1500	1969:189	Anapattur	Cheyyar	NA	Pv

Period V

307	1502	*IPS*, 720	Kandisvaram-udaiyarkoil	Tirumayyam	PK	Pd
308	1504	1918:98	Kugaiyur	Vriddhachalam	SA	Vp
309	1504	1918:118	–do–	–do–	SA	Vp
310	1504	1916:247	Srimushnam	Chidambaram	SA	Vp
311	1504	1913:412	Aragalur	Attur	Sl	Vp
312	1505	1913:354	Devikapuram	Arni	NA	Pv
313	1505	1012:395	–do–	–do–	NA	Pv
314	1505	1934:54	Vadamadevi-mangalam	Polur	NA	Pv
315	1505	1921:330	Tirukkoyilur	Tirukkoyilur	SA	Vp
316	1506	*IPS*, 774	Melappanaiyur	Tirumayyam	PK	Pd
317	1507	*SII*, vii, 293	Tittagudi	Vriddhachalam	SA	Vp
318	1507	1934:54	Kondangi	Chingleput	Cg	Pv
319	1507	1935:62	Tellar	Wandavasi	NA	Pv
320	1509	1940:144	Karandai	Cheyyar	NA	Pv
321	1509	1942:104	Kunnattur	Polur	NA	Pv
322	1510	*SII*, xxii, 240	Tiruppanangadu	Cheyyar	NA	Pv
323	1510	*IPS*, 726	Kudumiyamalai	Kulattur	PK	Pd
324	1510	*IPS*, 730	Maniyambalam	Alangudi	PK	Pd
325	1511	1938:515	Gangapuram	Gingee	SA	Pv
326	1512	1941:92	Attuvampadi	Polur	NA	Pv
327	1513	*SII*, xxiv, 366	Srirangam	Tiruchirappalli	Tp	TT
328	1513	196:246	Srimushnam	Chidambaram	SA	Vp
329	1513	1913:403	Attur	Attur	Sl	Vp
330	1513	1941:75	Padaividu	Polur	NA	Pv
331	1514	1913:409	Aragalur	Attur	Sl	Vp
332	1515	*SII*, xxiii, 496	Swamimalai	Kumbakonam	Tj	TT
333	1516	*TDI*, iii, 80	Tirumalai	Chandragiri	Ct	Cn
334	1517	*SII*, vi, 70	Viluppuram	Viluppuram	SA	Vp
335	1517	*SII*, viii, 352	Sendamangalam	Tindivanam	SA	Vp
336	1517	*SII*, viii, 597	Tiruppalatturai	Tiruchirappalli	Tp	TT
337	1517	*SII*, xvii, 145	Tirianagari	Cuddalore	SA	Vp
338	1517	*IPS*, 725	Maravamadurai	Tirumayyam	PK	Pd
339	1518	*SII*, iv, 368	Tirupparuttik-kunram	Kanchipuram	Cg	Cn
340	1518	*SII*, xxiii, 493	Kuttalam	Mayuram	Tj	TT
341	1518	*IPS*, 843	Karaiyur	Tirumayyam	PK	Pd
342	1518	*IPS*, 844	Tannur	–do–	PK	Pd

Period V (continued)

343	1518	1912:353	Devikapuram	Aruni	NA	Pv
344	1518	1912:358	–do–	–do–	NA	Pv
345	1518	1920:466	Salukkai	Wandavasi	NA	Pv
346	1919	*IPS*, 733	Tiruvarangulum	Alangudi	PK	Pd
347	1519	1919:3	Sembedu	Gingee	SA	Pv
348	1519	1933:130	Tirukkalukunram	Chingleput	Cg	Pv
349	1519	1940:340	Tiruvur	Tiruvallur	Cg	Cn
350	1519	1944:110	Rishivandhyam	Kallakurichi	SA	Vp
351	1519	1944:111	–do–	–do–	SA	Vp
352	1520	1938:494	Elavanasur	Tirukkoyilur	SA	Vp
353	1520	1912:352	Devikapuram	Arni	NA	pv
354	1520	1935:246	Tirukkadiyur	Mayuram	Tj	TT
355	1520	1927:230	Suriyanarkoil	Kumbakonam	Tj	TT
356	1521	1905:473	Tiruvalangadu	Tiruttani	Cg	Cn
357	1521	1919:2	Sembedu	Gingee	SA	Pv
358	1521	1924:145	Kodungalur	Wandavasi	NA	Pv
359	1521	1933:117	Vittalapuram	Chingleput	Cg	Pv
360	1521	1921:319	Tirukkoyilur	Tirukkoyilur	SA	Vp
361	1521	1921:321	–do–	–do–	SA	Vp
362	1521	1921:469	Tiruvennainallur	–do–	SA	Vp
363	1522	1921:325	Tirukkoyilur	–do–	SA	Vp
364	1522	1921:333	–do–	–do–	SA	Vp
365	1523	*IPS*, 737	Tiruvarangulam	Alangudi	PK	Pd
366	1523	1935:175	Arakandanallur	Tirukkoyilur	SA	Vp
367	1524	*SII*, vi, 72	Viluppuram	Viluppuram	SA	Vp
368	1524	1912:365	Devikapuram	Arni	NA	Pv
369	1524	1918:115	Kogalyur	Kallakurichi	SA	Vp
370	1525	*SII*, vi, 71	Viluppuram	Viluppuram	SA	Vp
371	1525	*IPS*, 850	Kulavaypatti	Alangudi	PK	Pd
372	1525	1912:363	Devikapuram	Arni	NA	Pv
373	1526	1913:10	Perambalur	Perambalur	Tp	Vp
374	1527	*SII*, vi, 272	Manimangalam	Saidapet	Cg	Cn
375	1527	*SII*, xxiv, 383	Srirangam	Tiruchirappalli	Tp	TT
376	1528	1935:60	Tellar	Wandavasi	NA	Pv
377	1529	*SII*, vii, 447	Achcharapakkam	Madhurantakam	Cg	Pv
378	1529	*SII*, xxiii, 355	Tiruvisalur	Kumbakonam	Tj	TT
379	1529	1912:364	Devikapuram	Arni	NA	Pv
380	1528	1912:368	–do–	–do–	NA	Pv
381	1529	1935:50	Kadambur	Chingleput	Cg	Pv
382	1529	1934:55	Vadamadevi-mangalam	Polur	NA	Pv
383	1529	1955:308	Kanchipuram	Kanchipuram	Cg	Cn
384	1530	*SII*, vi, 273	Manimangalam	Saidapet	Cg	Cn
385	1530	*SII*, xxii, 106	Jambai	Tirukkoyilur	SA	Vp
386	1530	*IPS*, 745	Tiruvarangulam	Alngudi	PK	Pd
387	1530	1912:375	Devikapuram	Arni	NA	Pv
388	1530	1938:449	Pallichandal	Trukkoyilur	SA	Vp
389	1531	*SII*, xxii, 175	Elavanasur	–do–	SA	Vp

Period V (continued)

390	1531	*SII*, xxii, 253	Tirupanangadu	Cheyyar	NA	Pv
391	1531	*IPS*, 740	Puvalaikudi	Tirumayyam	PK	Pd
392	1532	*SII*, iv, 53	Virinchipuram	Vellore	NA	Pv
393	1532	*SII*, v, 1402	Thanjavur	Thanjavur	Tj	TT
394	1532	*SII*, xxii, 127	Jambai	Tirukkoyilur	SA	Vp
395	1532	*SII*, xxiii, 151	Puvalaikudi	Tirumayyam	PK	Pd
396	1532	*IPS*, 742	Neyvasal	Tirumayyam	PK	Pd
397	1532	*IPS*, 746	Tiruvarangulam	Alangudi	PK	Pd
398	1532	1921:412	Tiruvadi	Cuddalore	SA	Vp
399	1532	1922:68	Tiruvamattur	Viluppuram	SA	Vp
400	1532	1932:41	Tenmahadevi-mangalam	Polur	NA	Pv
401	1532	1937:264	Siddhalingamadam	Tirukkoyilur	SA	Vp
402	1532	1940:195	Virinchipuram	Vellore	NA	Pv
403	1532	*SII*, xvii, 264	Kunimedu	Tindivanam	SA	Pv
404	1532	*SII*, xxii, 103	Jambai	Tirukkoyilur	SA	Vp
405	1532	*SII*, xvi, 98	Kalahasti	Chandragiri	Ct	Cn
406	1533	*SII*, xxiv, 409	Srirangam	Tiruchirappalli	Tp	TT
407	1533	1919:584	Kanchipuram	Kanchipuram	Cg	Cn
408	1533	1918:113	Kugaiyur	Kallakurichi	SA	Vp
409	1534	*SII*, xxiv, 412	Srirangam	Tiruchirappalli	Tp	TT
410	1535	*SII*, xxiv, 421	–do–	–do–	Tp	TT
411	1535	1912:379	Devikapuram	Arni	NA	Pv
412	1536	*SII*, xvii, 669	Tiruvandavar	Kanchipuram	Cg	Cn
413	1537	*IPS*, 744	Kiranur	Kulattur	PK	Pd
414	1537	1912:380	Devikapuram	Arni	NA	Pv
415	1538	1921:194	Senur	Gudyattam	NA	Pv
416	1538	1935:1	Kalavakkam	Chingleput	Cg	Pv
417	1538	1946:71, 72	Tiruvannamalai	Tiruvannamalai	NA	Pv
418	1539	1934:31	Valayattur	Walajapet	NA	Cn
419	1540	1912:376	Devikapuram	Arni	NA	Pv
420	1541	*SII*, iv, 47	Virinchipuram	Vellore	NA	Pv
421	1541	*IPS*, 752	Tiruvarangulam	Alangudi	PK	Pd
422	1542	1912:524	Uttattur	Lalgudi	Tp	Vp
423	1542	*IPS*, 743	Unaiyur	Tirumayyam	PK	Pd
424	1542	1947:141	Chidambaram	Chidambaram	SA	Vp
425	1543	1918:19	Kugaiyur	Kallakurichi	SA	Vp
426	1545	*SII*, viii, 233	Tiruvalanjuli	Kumbakonam	Tj	TT
427	1546	1938:418	Tiruppalappandal	Cuddalore	SA	Vp
428	1546	1944:118	Rishivandhyam	Kallakurichi	SA	Vp
429	1546	1929:269	Pennadam	Vriddhachalam	SA	Vp
430	1547	*SII*, xvii, 269	Chandragiri	Chandragiri	Ct	Cn
431	1548	*SII*, viii, 113	Tiruvannamalai	Tiruvannamlai	NA	Pv
432	1548	1943:98	Sitteri	Polur	NA	Pv
433	1549	*SII*, xxiii, 148	Puvalaikkudi	Tirumayam	PK	Pd
434	1549	1922:5	Tiruvamattur	Viluppuram	SA	Vp
435	1550	*SII*, xvii, 263	Gingee	Gingee	SA	Vp
436	1550	1935:17	Ponmar	Chingleput	Cg	Pv

Period VI

437	1552	1943:88	Velanedal	Polur	NA	Pv
438	1552	*SII*, xxiv, 471	Srirangam	Tiruchirappalli	Tp	TT
439	1552	1941:409	Aradappattu	Tiruvannamalai	NA	Pv
440	1552	1942:107	Kunnattur	Polur	NA	Pv
441	1554	*TDI*, v, 154	Tirumalai	Chandragiri	Ct	Cn
442	1560	1942-149	Narasingapuram	Polur	NA	Pv
443	1562	1918-106	Kugaiyur	Kallakurichi	Sa	Vp
444	1562	1941:45	Padaividu	Polur	NA	Pv
445	1564	*SII*, xvii, 581	Tiruvarur	Nagapattinam	Tj	TT
446	1566	1922:70	Tiruvamattur	Vituppuram	SA	Vp
447	1567	*SII*, viii, 158	Tiruvannamalai	Tiruvannamalai	NA	Pv
448	1567	1921:313	Tirukkoyilur	Tirukkoyilur	SA	Vp
449	1568	1935:240	Virapandi	Tirukkoyilur	SA	Vp
450	1569	1929:427	Tiruvannamalai	Tiruvannamalai	NA	Pv
451	1571	1937:278	Padur	Tirukkoyilur	SA	Vp
452	1572	1919:380	Kanchipuram	Kanchipuram	Cg	Cn
463	1572	*SII*, xvi, 232	Sriperumbudur	Chingleput	Cg	Cn
454	1574	1929:434	Tiruvannamalai	Tiruvannamalai	NA	Pv
455	1575	1919:5	Sembedu	Gingee	SA	Pv
456	1578	*SII*, ii, 97	Thanjavur	Thanjavur	Tj	TT
457	1578	1921:490	Tiruvennainallur	Tirukkoyilur	SA	Vp
458	1578	1933:111	Mahabalipuram	Chingleput	Cg	Pv
459	1588	1913:335	Chidambaram	Chidambaram	SA	Vp
460	1590	1929:426	Tiruvannamalai	Tiruvannamalai	NA	Pv
461	1594	1911:22	Tirumalisai	Sriperumbadur	Cg	Cn
462	1595	*SII*, xxiv, 514	Srirangam	Tiruchirappalli	Tp	TT
463	1595	1935:Cp 11	Cuddalore	Cuddalore	SA	Vp
464	1595	1937:136	Jambukesvaram	Tiruchirappalli	Tp	TT
465	1596	1931:228	Manamadi	Chingleput	Cg	Pv
466	1600	1931:226	–do–	–do–	Cg	Pv

Period VII

467	1604	1905:31	Tindivanam	Tindivanam	SA	Pv
468	1605	*SII*, iv 52a; 1940:212	Virinchipuram	Vellore	NA	Pv
469	1605	1919:379	Kanchipuram	Kanchipuram	Cg	Cn
470	1608	*SII*, v, 858	Chingleput	Chingleput	Cg	Cn
471	1611	*SII*, xvii, 764	Nedungunram	Wandavasi	NA	Pv
472	1611	1905:421	Gudimallur	Walajapet	NA	Cn
473	1614	*SII*, xvii, 762	Nedungunram	Wandavasi	NA	Pv
474	1614	1924:113	–do–	–do–	NA	Pv
475	1621	1965:289	Maniyankurichi	Kulitalai	Tp	TT
476	1625	1947:Cp 19	Tiruvarur	Nagapattinam	Tj	TT
477	1629	1924:143	Kodungalur	Wandavasi	NA	Pv
478	1635	1943:83	Sinandal	Polur	NA	Pv
479	1636	1921:118	Melseshamangalam	Cheyyar	NA	Pv
480	1642	1923:421	Tiruppanangadu	Cheyyar	NA	Pv
481	1642	1942:146	Odalavadi	Polur	NA	Pv

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